

# IN THESE TIMES



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the Flies  
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75 CENTS

## THE PLOYS OF SUMMER

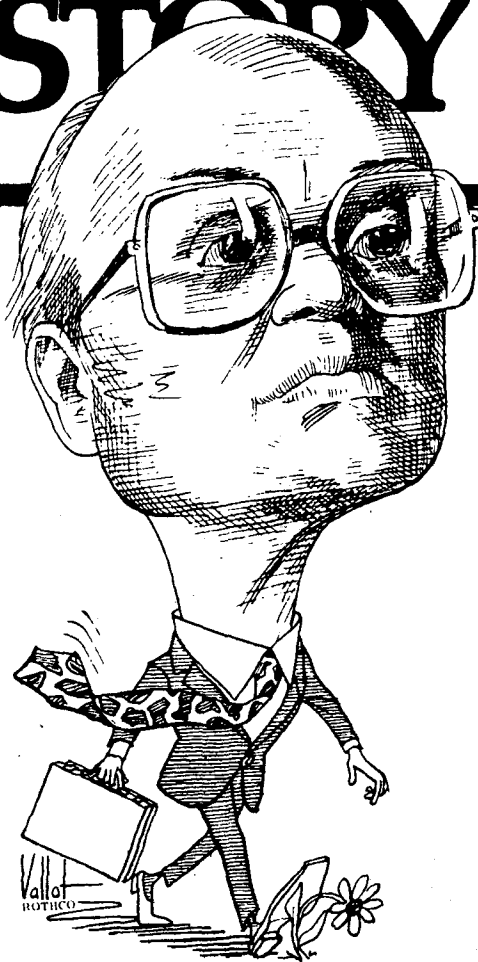


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on the little-known  
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player militance.

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# THE INSIDE STORY



## It's not Watt the voters had in mind

By David Moberg

Few spots better fit the conservative hype about "Reagan country" than Ogden, Utah, where scrappy frontier individualists reputedly hanker to "get government off our backs" with such vigor that shivers of pleasure race down the spines of right-wing Republicans. But Reagan—or more precisely, Reagan's Secretary of the Interior, James Watt—is in trouble in Ogden these days.

"We feel strongly that Mr. Watt has gone too far and opened too much land for development and is not taking into account conservation," says Sheldon Eppich, an engineer sympathetic to Reagan who also heads the Utah Wildlife Federation. He worries that with the energy development and proposed MX missile bases (opposed by 70 percent of Utah residents in a recent poll) there won't be enough water, the key to both power and pleasure in the West. He also worries that with private lands increasingly closed to all but rich hunters and public lands threatened under Watt there will be less and less of the recreational land that people in the mountain states take for granted.

Ogdenites may rail against government regulation, "but when you come down to the issues, to the hard facts, there are two songs sung," Eppich says. Increasingly the tune is anti-Watt. The Ogden and Salt Lake City papers have urged his dismissal. In mid-July the National Wildlife Federation, the most conservative and largest environmental group, whose members voted two to one for Reagan, called for Watt's ouster and produced a membership survey showing deep disagreement with Watt. But the melody may linger on and hurt other Republicans as well, such as Utah Sen. Orrin Hatch, New Mexico Sen. Harrison Schmitt and Wyoming Sen. Malcolm Wallop, each of whom is likely to face a potentially strong Democratic contender with moderate-to-liberal politics on the environment and other issues. And the chairman of the California Republican Party warned Reagan that Watt's decision to push leasing of offshore tracts in northern California may cost the GOP several offices in that state next year. A June Harris poll showed Democrats leading Republicans in the West 55 to 36 percent, the most dramatic shift in any part of the country, and environmental issues are paramount.

Reagan's environmental positions are rapidly becoming his administration's Achilles heel. Public backing of environmental aims and legislation remains remarkably strong. Another Harris poll showed majorities of 86 to 93 percent opposed to weakening the

Clean Air or Clean Water acts, and nearly half want tougher protection. This bodes ill for an administration whose draft proposal for revising the Clean Air act involved drastic cutbacks.

Watt has become the focus of controversy. The mention of his name brings boos at Washington, D.C., area concerts and a flood of mail, members and money to environmental groups. (The Sierra Club jumped from 185,000 members in November to 220,000 now and is more than halfway towards its goal of one million signatures on anti-Watt petitions.) Lobbyists report that members of Congress are trying to distance themselves from Watt even if they aren't strongly pro-environment. Republicans in the House, for example, went along with the Democrats' more modest cuts in park acquisition funds rather than push for Watt's proposal.

But even though Congress has been blocking some Watt actions, the Secretary of the Interior has much administrative power because past legislation has been written with the understanding that the Secretary, as manager of roughly one-third of all the land in the U.S., is a trustee of the public interest. Even Republican Interior secretaries in the past have tended to be moderate conservationists, such as Walter Hickel. (There is an instructive exception: in 1952 Eisenhower appointed Doug "Give-It-Away" McKay, a milder version of Watt, and two years later Republicans lost four Senate seats in the West.)

### Blood in the water.

Watt has certainly violated the trust. The Wildlife Federation cited 10 failings: crippling the department through budget cuts; emasculation of the office of surface mining; changing policies on leases of rangeland to maximize private economic gain at the expense of wildlife; dropping most previous water protection policies; blocking acquisition of new parks, refuges and forests; acceleration of offshore oil and gas leasing (at a rate that surpasses the industry's ability to explore safely or productively); turning over park management to private concessionaires; reducing protection for endangered species; scuttling the Law of the Sea treaty; and destroying an emerging national consensus on the value of resource conservation with inflammatory, misleading rhetoric.

But despite the criticisms and Republican worries, Watt continues to receive the president's full public support. The betting among environmentalists is that Watt will not be dismissed in the near future. "You start dropping cabinet members under pressure and that just invites attack," Carl Pope, political education director of the Sierra Club, said. "There's blood in the water."

Watt's philosophy of anti-governmental privatism, furthermore, is perfectly in tune with Reagan. As Elizabeth Drew reported in the *New Yorker*, a White House aide for energy, environment and natural resources recently told some environmentalists that "the attitude of this administration is that the 1980 election was about 'privatization' versus 'publicization' and that 'we won.'" The sentiment is widespread: in the new Reagan energy plan environmental protection is explicitly left to the market and its "dollars and cents" evaluation of how much clean air and water are worth. Does this mean that energy policy will not be set by the government but by the private sector, a reporter asked Department of Energy spokesman J. Hunter Chiles. "I guess you could say it will," he replied.

But as John McComb, Washington director of the Sierra Club, argues, conservation of resources and pro-

tection of the environment require a long-term, systematic view, and "a market system doesn't do that very well." Implicitly, the public response on the environment is a recognition of the limits of the market, of the need for planning, and of the value of both public ownership and governmental regulation.

### Beyond the bird watchers.

Explicitly, though, popular ideology runs counter to what people say they want concretely, and few politicians or environmentalists are interested in scoring the broader political point. Indeed, Richard Grossman, of Environmentalists for Full Employment, fears that in the flush of concern for strictly environmental threats the ecology movement may isolate itself from other issues and movements that should be linked to it, such as full employment or worker safety.

But unlike many other fragments of a potential liberal-left opposition, environmentalists are on the offensive. Old-line groups like the Audubon Society, with a membership that is mainly Republican, will step up political lobbying against the "myopic economics" of Watt (even though many of its members support Reagan's budget cuts and economic program generally). Other groups are realizing that—as the Harris polls showed—environmental objectives get above-average support from union members and blacks as well as from the highly educated "bird-watching elitists" dismissed by would-be "right-wing populists." And several groups are accelerating dramatically their involvement in electoral politics with that broader appeal in mind.

In the New Jersey primaries, for example, a coalition of state and national environmental groups endorsed four candidates, all of whom won, some arguably as a direct result of the environmentalists' contribution of zealous canvassers and some money.

At times the environmentalists clash with potential allies. For example, feminists in New Jersey weren't pleased with James Florio as the gubernatorial candidate even if he was great on toxic wastes, a major issue in New Jersey. But environmentalists say they hope to work with other groups to minimize such differences.

But Pope, for one, sees a problem if other liberal to left allies don't get out of the doldrums: "There are other parts of the anti-Reagan coalition that are still on the defensive psychologically, and if you're on the defensive you look for the lesser of two evils. I think we're going to pick people we really believe in."

Six environmentalist political action committees now meet regularly to coordinate work, and all are planning to expand, often double, their budgets next year. They will still focus on manageably-sized states where they can influence the outcome of a campaign and will emphasize positive campaigns, unlike the original "Dirty Dozen" attacks Environmental Action developed and then dropped. Most campaigns will be in the East, the mountain states, and the West Coast, with possible forays into Florida or parts of the Midwest. Bob Chlopak of Friends of the Earth says that they will also emphasize establishment of ongoing organizations at the state and local level. Environmentalists also expect to become much more involved in local races, such as the recent victorious county commissioner campaign in Broward County, Florida.

The polls and public reaction to Watt show that environmentalism is a broadly and strongly held view of the world that clashes with central values of the Reagan administration. "Our job is to tap that latent power," says Matthew McWilliams of Environmental Action, "and it hasn't been done consistently in the past. But with Watt, the environment is becoming more and more important."

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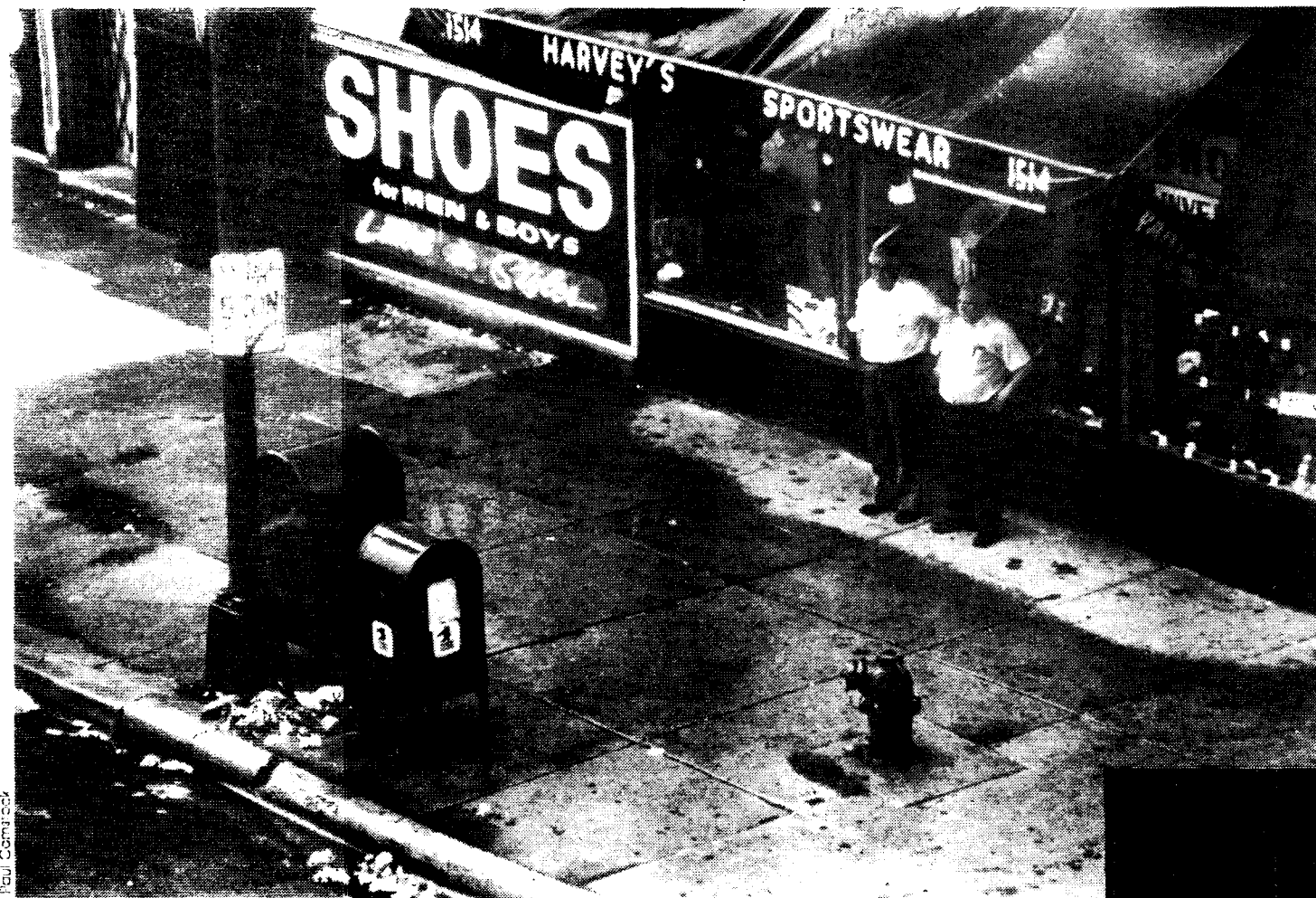
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## IN THESE TIMES

## Whose side are tax cutters on?



The poor, Polish and Hispanic residents of Wicker Park are typical of Rep. Dan Rostenkowski's (right) constituents; their taxes would go up under his tax proposal.

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

**T**AX POLITICS, LIKE SALT NEGOTIATIONS or meetings of the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee, have a certain soporific quality, but the results of the desultory debates in Congress affect the distribution and growth of wealth in the United States. Tax policies can temper or exacerbate capitalism's natural tendencies to polarize society into rich and poor, affluent and indigent. They can direct business investment toward productive growth at home or encourage speculation and overseas investment. And they can limit or expand the revenue base for federal spending.

The two bills presently competing for Congress' favor—a Republican bill authored by the Senate Finance Committee and a Democratic bill drafted by the House Ways and Means Committee—would both precipitously widen the gap between rich and poor, encourage speculation, and make federal spending dependent upon a shrinking personal income tax base. These bills, says Robert McIntyre, the lobbyist for the Citizens for Tax Justice, "are the biggest catastrophes for tax finances in the history of the code."

Tax politics also can reveal the real inclinations of politicians who claim to be tribunes of the people. It was a Democrat from Michigan, Rep. William M. Broadhead, who argued that the highest tax rate on unearned income should be dropped from 70 percent to 50 percent; another Democrat, Senator "Dollar" Bill Bradley of New Jersey, argued in the Senate debate that capital gains taxes should be reduced even further than the Republicans proposed; and it has been a Democrat from a low-income Chicago district, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, the chair of Ways and Means, who has produced a comprehensive Democratic package that would virtually eliminate corporate taxes as a source of federal revenue.

#### A less regressive bill.

The Democratic bill, which emerged out of Rostenkowski-chaired caucuses of the Ways and Means Democrats, has only one feature directed toward the Demo-

crats' blue-collar and minority constituencies: its proposed income tax reductions are slightly less regressive than those in the Republicans' bill. For example, a couple making between \$35,200 and \$45,800 would see their tax rate drop from 43 to 41 percent under Rostenkowski's bill and to 35 percent under the GOP bill. The tax rates for a couple earning from \$7,600 to \$11,900 would drop from 18 to 14 percent under Rostenkowski's bill and only to 15 percent under the GOP bill.

But Rostenkowski's bill only makes the Republican proposal less regressive. It will continue the shift of the tax bur-

den from the wealthy to the less fortunate. This becomes apparent when higher social security payments and tax increases that result from inflation pushing tax payers income into higher brackets are figured into both proposals.

According to a Citizens for Tax Justice study, in

1983 a taxpayer who now makes less than \$10,000 would find his net taxes increase 25.1 percent under the Republican bill and 15.3 percent under Rostenkowski's. A taxpayer now making between \$15,000 and \$20,000 would find his taxes increase 3.3 percent under the Republican bill and 1.3 percent under the Rostenkowski bill. But taxpayers now with incomes more than \$200,000 would find their taxes decreased by 15.1 percent under the Republican bill and by 12.9 percent under Rostenkowski's.

"The Democrats apparently agree with the Republicans that only Democrats should pay taxes," one tax lobbyist quipped.

#### No corporate taxes.

But the reduction in corporate taxes is even more important than the regressive reductions of the personal income tax. Contrary to current mythology, federal corporate taxes tend to come out of stockholders' dividends rather than consumers' pockets. Any shift from corporate to personal income tax tends to redistribute income upwards.

Since the 1963 Kennedy business tax cut, the corporate share of federal tax revenue has been shrinking: from 23 percent in 1960 to 19.5 percent in 1969 to 14.1 percent in 1978. If either of the Republican or Democratic corporate tax reductions go through, the corporate share will be reduced to 7.7 percent by 1986. "With little lamentation and hardly any notice so far, the corpor-

Continued on page 10



## DC insider is local "zero"

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

**"D**ANNY ROSTENKOWSKI'S view of the world is that he has to deliver," one tax lobbyist explained. "If you can't control the floor, you can't deliver. He has to provide a tax bill. He doesn't really care what is in the bill."

In a press conference after the House Ways and Means Committee approved his income tax plan, Rostenkowski acknowledged his own motivations. The question was, he said, "whether you want to lose courageously or to win. I'd like to win."

Rostenkowski has therefore crafted a tax bill that mirrors the Republican approach to income and corporate taxes and has tried to win conservative votes by give-aways to every special interest from Southern oil producers to racehorse owners. And if he can win a majority House vote for his bill, he will have displaced Speaker Tip O'Neill and Majority Leader James Wright as the most powerful House Democrat.

Rostenkowski is a product of Chicago's Democratic machine. The son of an alderman, he was born and still lives in Chicago's near Northwest side, a congressional district that was formerly middle-class Polish, but is now increasingly black and Hispanic—60 percent by one count.

Its median income is below \$10,000, and some of its neighborhoods are among Chicago's poorest and most crime-ridden. (It's also home of *In These Times*.)

Rostenkowski has maintained his hold over the district through the kind of machine politics he learned from his father and from the late Mayor Richard Daley. Even as a member of Congress, he still serves on the Democratic Ward Committee, whose precinct workers regularly perform the small favors that have been basis for political success among many Chicago Democrats.

Rostenkowski enjoys the loyalty of his Polish constituents, and the blacks and Hispanics are largely unorganized politically and often don't vote. Just to be sure, however, Rostenkowski is reportedly trying to reapportion his district for 1982 to get rid of his black constituents.

#### An inside Democrat.

Tax policy analyst Paul Tipps distinguishes between politicians with an "inside" and "outside" strategy. An inside strategy is based on one's constituency within the legislature—for instance as chair of the Ways and Means Committee—and an outside strategy is based on one's constituency in the district. Rostenkowski is the archetypal insider.

But he also represents a certain Democratic centrism, respectful of big business and scornful of liberal extremes on defense or the economy. In 1976 Rostenkowski managed moderate Jim Wright's

successful campaign for Majority Leader against liberal Phil Burton. This year, he helped engineer moderate Jim Jones' victory as Budget Committee chair over liberal David Obey.

For his centrism, Rostenkowski has been rewarded with more corporate contributions than any other Ways and Means member—\$157,425 for the last election when Rostenkowski won 84 percent of the vote against a purely token opponent. In contrast to other Northern Democrats, Rostenkowski receives over 50 percent of his campaign contributions from corporate political action committees.

There is some dissatisfaction with Rostenkowski among community leaders in Chicago. "Rostenkowski is a zero as far as I am concerned," Joyce Zick, a housewife active in the Northwest Neighborhood Federation, remarked. Last April, several community organizations from Rostenkowski's district held a meeting to protest Reagan's budget cuts. Rostenkowski stormed out of the meeting when a succession of speakers accused him of acquiescing in the cuts. (Rostenkowski's Ways and Means subsequently approved many of the Reagan budget cuts.)

But even his opponents admit that Rostenkowski is invulnerable. "Rostenkowski is a fat cat politician at this point. He has no consideration of his constituency," Robert Heinemann of the Illinois Coalition Against Reaganomics (ICARE), said. "But he's not someone we can target and knock off."



# IN SHORT

## Under control, for now

On July 21, the tenants' movement won an ironic victory when House and Senate conferees agreed to kill an anti-rent-control provision that had been attached to the Senate's version of the budget bill. At first it looked like the measure, which would have banned housing subsidies to jurisdictions that have rent controls on new and vacant housing, might succeed in both houses. But more than 350 lobbyists recruited by the National Tenants Union to work the Hill apparently convinced enough conservatives that the issue was not rent control but local control—that is, the right of localities to enact their own rent-control laws. Even President Reagan's press secretary was quoted at the House-Senate conference as saying that "the federal government should stay out of the business of rent control."

## Sex appeal

The U.S. Board of Immigration Appeals has upheld a law that allows immigration officials to bar foreign homosexuals from entering the country. The ruling by the three-member board, Zodiac reports, overturns a 1980 judicial order giving British homosexual Carl Hill the right to enter the U.S. as a legal visitor. Hill was detained in 1979 at the San Francisco International Airport when he stepped off a plane wearing a "Gay Pride" button. He was later allowed to continue his visit—but only on a parole order, meaning he had not been formally admitted to our shores.

In an effort to continue testing the law barring lesbians and gay men from entering the country, Hill returned here in 1980. At that time, Bernard Hornbach, an administrative law judge in San Francisco, ordered Hill to be admitted, ruling that "a homosexual is neither a psychopath nor a sick person." Now the Board of Immigration Appeals, in overturning Hornbach's ruling, has stated that homosexual aliens can be barred from the country for psychiatric reasons—even if they are not subjected to mental examinations. Hill's American lawyer is appealing the board's decision to the U.S. district court in San Francisco.

## Play it again, CBS

Harry Reasoner asks the commanding general of the U.S. Army Nuclear and Chemical Agency how he would avoid hitting his own troops with nuclear weapons. The commanding general responds: "Well, Harry, that's a real problem...one of the realities of our modern-day 'integrated battlefield.'" This revealing exchange is one of the high points of CBS' five-part series *The Defense of the United States*, which was originally aired in mid-June to good ratings and will be rerun Aug. 3 to 7 at 11:30 p.m. EDT. Most of the hour-long segments deal with a single facet of the war machine by deftly blending interviews, training films and editorial comment—often with a critical, or at least skeptical, eye. Especially sobering is a discussion of the consequences of a nuclear strike on Omaha, Neb. Another segment does the same for Germany, whose citizens are quite aware that their country is a likely site for any "limited" nuclear war.

## 'A shot rang out. . .'

At a recent meeting called by the editors of the *Bergen Record*, in the wake of disclosures that two journalists at leading dailies had been fabricating stories, reporters were reminded of the rules concerning unattributed quotes and unnamed sources. "They're forgetting," one news-gatherer commented, "that we all had to make up a story to get hired here." It's true, says a friend of "In Short" (call him Dave Lindorff) who took the *Record's* longstanding writing test—a must, to this day, for all aspiring *Record* reporters—six years ago, and was told that his fiction sample "lacked flair." Besides asking the applicant to examine a story for inconsistencies, and to write another from someone else's notes, the test requires the would-be reporter to make up an item about a man who sells all his belongings and sets off in a boat down the Hackensack River—facts, quotes, names, all are to be invented. *Newsday* uses a similar test, but there the man takes a more idyllic route by sailing off into the Long Island Sound.

## Deep Threat

We welcome inside information from readers who know what the Reaganites are up to—besides the usual stuff. Send all memoranda to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

—Josh Kornbluth



"A Jap's a Jap," reasoned General John DeWitt as he issued the evacuation orders that removed more than 110,000 Japanese-Americans, most of them U.S. citizens, from their homes in March 1942. Ilana DeBare reports that the children who were pulled out of school in the process, and spent up to four years with their families in detention camps, are now in their 40s—and are suing the government for damages of \$25,000 per internee. No one expects that this summer's multi-city hearings by the federal Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians will lead to so large a monetary settlement, while Japanese-American leaders argue that the damage to the community goes beyond any dollar figure.

## Broadcasting deregulators try to pull a fast one on foes

"Backdoor deregulation" is what they're calling it. It's the latest tactic to sabotage the public-interest obligations of broadcasters—obligations that have been a part of government policy since the 1934 Communications Act.

On July 20, 31 organizations—ranging from the PTA to NOW to Americans for Democratic Action—held a press conference in Washington, D.C., to publicize their outrage at the way deregulatory legislation for broadcasters has been sneaked into the budget reconciliation package in the Senate. If this legislation goes through, some of the most basic mechanisms of public accountability for radio and TV will vanish.

The legislation would make radio licenses last indefinitely and extend the life of TV licenses, making one of the few weapons citizens have to check broadcasters' excesses—the petition to deny license renewal—the palest of shadows of a formerly shadowy self. It would also permit selection of licenses by lottery, something that would benefit those who had the resources to file multiple applications; and it would cut off the Fairness Doctrine at the knees.

But the legislation's provisions don't enrage these groups as much as the process does. These are issues that sparked such heated controversy in the past that no omnibus bill on communications could make it through the legislative process. Tacking these fundamental changes in policy onto the budget reconciliation package short-circuits congressional debate and railroads through a decision that we'll have to live with for a long time.

"It's frustrating to keep fighting these rear-guard actions—we always seem to be a step behind the people who are defining the parameters of the debate," said David Mitchell of the United Auto Workers, one of several trade unionists at the press conference. "But we can't just give up. This legislation

would fundamentally change our rights, and it's not being given a chance to be debated."

—Pat Aufderheide

## Minorities rally for building jobs

NEW YORK—Throwing bottles, chunks of metal and buckets of nails, construction workers at the site of the AT&T headquarters building-in-progress in midtown Manhattan battled 1,000 unemployed blacks and Hispanics who were protesting discriminatory union hiring practices. In one of the city's largest labor demonstrations in recent years, the protesters chanted "Jobs, jobs, we want jobs."

More than 200 police, including several on horseback, were called in to stop the violence.

David Jones—director of Link, a group that helped to organize the action—said the immediate object of the protest was to get more jobs for minority workers on the AT&T site and other projects being built by Donald Trump, the city's largest real-estate developer. But the underlying demand was that blacks and Hispanics, who together make up more than half of New York's population, get close to a proportionate share of the city's construction work. Though government figures show unemployment among blacks and Hispanics in New York to be more than 30 percent, New York mayor Ed Koch denounced the demonstration, calling it "a case of extortion."

"What happened in England can happen here," warned Bronx activist Jose Rivera, referring to the recent riots in England's depressed industrial centers. "But we should not destroy our own homes; we should take it downtown, to Fantasy Island"—a reference to a small area of midtown Manhattan that has been a real-estate dealer's

dream under Mayor Koch's pro-business administration. Besides the AT&T headquarters, more than a dozen major buildings, including new headquarters for IBM, are under construction on Fantasy Island—and more sites are being prepared.

—Josh Martin

## A church falls in Poletown

DETROIT—At 5 a.m. on July 14 (Bastille Day) the Special Tactical Unit of the Detroit Police Department cordoned off the Poletown neighborhood, slated for destruction to make way for a General Motors Cadillac plant parking lot (*In These Times*, Feb. 4). Less than two hours later, police forced open the basement door of the Immaculate Conception Church, which Poletown neighborhood activists had illegally occupied for a month. Six men and six women who refused to vacate the church, which had come to symbolize the Poletown conflict, were arrested and taken to the seventh precinct.

After all charges were dropped, the 12 activists returned to the church at noon to find it completely surrounded by police officers and a 12-foot wire fence. The historic building was stripped of windows, organ and masonry while parishioners wept; the wrecking ball hit the rectory the following evening. One supporter who had slept in the church frequently during the month-long occupation was arrested when he climbed into a bulldozer and refused to leave. An associate of Ralph Nader who had arrived in January to assist Poletown residents was also arrested after crawling under the fence and running into the church, halting demolition for five minutes. (Again, all charges were later dropped.)

The Immaculate Conception Church was reduced to rubble in less than 48 hours. While the dust was still settling in Poletown, 40 residents and supporters smashed a 1964 Oldsmobile to bits outside the GM world headquarters.

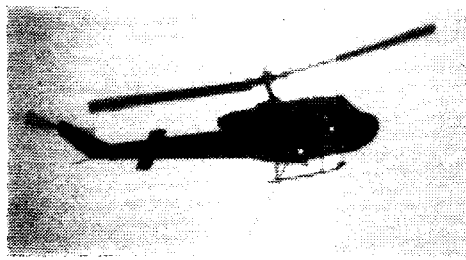
—Jeanie Wylie



# ON THE NATION

## PESTICIDES

### Beyond the Valley for the Medflies?



By Thomas Brom

SAN JOSE, CA.

**J**UST AFTER MIDNIGHT THE "Hucy" helicopters lifted off from a heavily guarded secret base near the Gates of Heaven cemetery in the Los Altos foothills. They carried 350-gallon tanks of diluted malathion, a pesticide first developed by the Nazis as a nerve gas.

As the pilots swung out over the dark Santa Clara Valley, they looked for lines of lights to guide them along city streets. Then, flying at a height of 300 feet, they released a mixture of malathion and sticky protein bait that fell in tiny droplets about the size of a pinhead, landing about every 2 inches on the urban neighborhoods of Palo Alto, Mountain View and Sunnyvale.

On the ground, residents had covered backyard ponds and draped their cars and lawn furniture with sheets of plastic—malathion blisters auto paint and kills fish. People were advised to stay inside, keep windows closed and turn off air conditioners.

A few demonstrators gathered on streetcorners in the spray zone for candlelight vigils and a ceremonial dousing by the helicopters overhead. There was talk of knocking out the searchlights, interfering with the pesticide loading or shooting down the helicopters. But the handful of demonstrators posed no real threat. One man, who tried to cut free a large balloon from the grasp of a ground of a ground support worker's arm, was quickly arrested for assault with a deadly weapon.

The pesticide spraying will go on here for weeks—a minimum of six applications over an expanding area that already covers 130 square miles in three counties along San Francisco Bay. Seven helicopters now whirl over the valley each night. And the state is considering plans to drop pesticide from B-17 bombers stationed at Moffitt Field; to use greater concentrations of malathion and far stronger chemicals; or to cordon off the entire Bay Area from the agricultural heartland of the state.

It has all happened very quickly. One month ago the Mediterranean fruit fly infestation was a minor problem, a matter for routine control by the state Department of Food and Agriculture, a back-page item.

But in late June, 26 new fruit fly larvae were found. Within days the number had jumped to 147, all in urban areas. The flies were winning. Now even long-time critics of the chemical industry and public health officials are reluctantly saying the same thing: "I hope to God the malathion works."

Much more is at stake even than California's \$14 billion agricultural industry and the public health of more than 1 million residents in the aerial spray zones. In the present crisis atmosphere, chemicals are in command. A new generation of fruit flies matures every two weeks. As the threat to the Central Valley increases, growers and state officials will be using more and more toxic pesticides whose widespread application

could affect the public health, the state ecology and the health and safety of millions of consumers buying sprayed and gassed California produce.

#### Don't count your eggs. . .

In many ways the Santa Clara Valley has become the set for a classic 1950s sci-fi film. Mysterious fruit flies arrive from God knows where to destroy the California economy. At first the state releases millions of sterile fruit flies to breed the aliens into extinction. Along with ground spraying, tree stripping and a limited quarantine, it almost works. But a batch of fertile fruit flies imported from Peru are released by mistake, seeding territory thought to be under control.

Pressured by the Western Growers Association and the Farm Bureau, state officials recommend aerial spraying over an urban population. The governor resists, calculating the risks to his political career. So the growers call in the state legislature and the federal government to force the issue. Within 36 hours, Governor Jerry Brown changes direction under

tors in case the Medfly crosses the coast foothills and invades the fields.

But there is one big difference between the 1950s sci-fi script and Santa Clara County today. The real people in the South Bay are almost completely passive as the Medfly wars rage around them. One week after the pesticide flights began, a rally called by the Emergency Committee to Halt Aerial Spraying attracted a dozen organizers, a dozen reporters and only a handful of confused lunchers wondering what was going on.

Organizers admit the major reason resistance has been so scattered is that environmental groups in the state have backed off their traditional opposition to pesticide use. Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club and Citizens for a Better Environment all have refused either to endorse or to condemn aerial spraying of malathion. Their reluctance springs from three factors: the devastating impact of the Medfly on fruit crops, the absence of studies on the long-term effects of malathion and the fear that growers will respond with far worse pesticides if the Medfly escapes over the foothills.

First, the Mediterranean fruit fly really is one of the most destructive insect pests known, with the capacity to alter permanently the crop profile of an agricultural region. The female fly lays eggs just under the skin of about 200 kinds of fleshy fruit and vegetables. When the larvae hatch, they feed on the pulp without disrupting the skin. Mature larvae then drop to the ground while the fruit is still hanging on the tree—leaving it rotting but apparently healthy.

#### Bitter fruit.

A native of Africa, the Medfly was first discovered in California in 1932 on a load of Hawaiian mangoes. Since then the larvae have been found and eradica-

harmful effects on humans have since been reported, although vast numbers of fish died during the year-long spraying. According to Mary Shioff, director of the Coordinating Committee on Pesticides, a coalition of 62 environmental groups, "The National Cancer Institute has found that it is not a carcinogen, although one of the researchers on that study disagrees." "But," she adds, "to my knowledge, there have been no long-term epidemiological studies of malathion."

Not surprisingly, this lack of data has led to extremes of opinion about the dangers of malathion. Dr. Bruce Ames, a professor of biochemistry at the University of California, Berkeley, says malathion is so safe that doctors in England routinely prescribe a 1 percent powder to control head and body lice among schoolchildren. Ames said that Santa Clara Valley residents wouldn't get that dosage "even if they stood out naked and rolled around on the grass all night." B.T. Collins, director of the California Conservation Corps fruit stripping operation, went so far as to drink a glass of diluted malathion as a morale booster to corps members dispos-

### Malathion may be harmful, but the alternatives are much worse.

ing of infested fruit in the spraying areas.

But many other scientists aren't so sure about its safety. Dr. Sumner Kaiman, professor of pharmacology at Stanford University, says that several recent studies of malathion show the pesti-



threat of a national quarantine on California produce by White House Counselor Ed Meese and Secretary of Agriculture John Block.

Quickly the Red Cross opens emergency shelters for children and pregnant women. The California Conservation Corps is ordered to help strip backyard fruit trees and pick up bags of produce left on the curbside for disposal. Roadblocks go up on the main highways leading out of the Bay Area—three checkpoints at first, then three more. Inspectors stop nearly 350,000 cars in a week, seizing illegal fruit or vegetables from 13,800 vehicles and citing 91 motorists.

Yet the infestation spreads. First to Alameda, then to San Mateo county. Colorado joins 11 southern states in a quarantine on produce from the affected counties. Later, five southern states impose a quarantine on all unfumigated fruit and vegetables from California—a move that sends state officials to court. The Central Valley growers watch anxiously, some quickly building fumiga-

ted three times in Florida, once in Texas and on three previous occasions in California. In Hawaii, where the Medfly and related Oriental fruit fly persist, fruit crops are now limited to the immune pineapple and kiwi.

"Working in the fields over the past few weeks, I've had a chance to think about this a lot," says Vic Bedoian, a raisin grower in the San Joaquin Valley. "Personally, I feel the aerial spraying has to be done. I don't like it, but if the Medfly reaches the Valley, it would wipe out the remaining small farmers."

It's also true that there has been little independent research on the long-term effects of malathion, which for the past 30 years has been used to control the Medfly. (It has also been used extensively for mosquito control in Florida, New Jersey, Texas and Louisiana, and officials of those states swear it is safe.) In 1956, the agriculture department of Dade County, Fla., sprayed tens of thousands of gallons of malathion over Miami from B-17 bombers to wipe out the Medfly. No

cide is a "very powerful mutagen" that can cause changes in genes at very low dosages.

The third factor silencing critics of the spraying program is the far worse chemicals presented as alternatives.

"Obviously malathion is not meant to be sprayed on urban populations," says Ellen Weidess, an attorney and pesticide expert for the California Occupational Safety and Health Administration. "Its chronic effects are not well known. But my concern right now is that the present dosage is too low—not too high. If the Medfly escapes into the agricultural valleys of this state, the growers will go crazy. They will use parathion, guthion and ethion—all far more dangerous than malathion—and probably kill off great numbers of benign insects and insect predators in the process. It could be devastating to the integrated pest management programs in the state."

Laurie Garrett, a pesticide researcher who first publicized the dangers of the

*Continued on page 10*







# IN THE WORLD

## GREAT BRITAIN

### Hold the jobs, pass the ammo

By Sylvia Collier

LONDON

**A** SELECT GROUP OF SENIOR police officers left London to study and rehearse at the riot control training center in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was confounding her colleagues in the dazed House of Commons. "This," she said, "is no time for detailed analysis. We have a problem. We are not going to be able to deal in practice with the economic and social aspects of it until law is restored and seen to be restored."

So, acknowledging in the process that Northern Ireland has become London's backyard for practicing combat with a civilian population, Mrs. Thatcher sent her police over to study up on how the Royal Ulster Constabulary does things. And the British concept of community policing by consent took one more step toward disappearing forever from mainland England.

It has since been announced that, for the first time in history, English police will be supplied with artillery. They will also be able to replace their bobbies helmets with NATO approved headgear and to use CS gas, water cannons and plastic bullets seven inches long, rock hard and capable of killing. This is the response of a desperate government witnessing urban decay manifest in violent protest.

Just as darkness fell on July 3, police roared through the Toxteth neighborhood of Liverpool in pursuit of a young, black motorcyclist. The reinforcements they called for overreacted, pouring into the area with sirens blaring. Crowds began to gather on street corners in this neighborhood where, for 150 years,

**One of the worst outbreaks of violence occurred after Thatcher's TV appearance.**

blacks and whites have coexisted more or less harmoniously, bearing the ups and downs of a dockyard town. But now white police drew truncheons and the neighborhood's black fists responded. Bricks and stones were thrown, truncheons struck out and youngsters were arrested. Among them was the teenage son of a Jamaican-born auto worker who was suing the chief constable on charges of police harassment. The arrest of his British-citizen son was interpreted in the community as further harassment, and for the next four nights crowds roamed the streets of the Liverpool neighborhood burning and looting. Shops, restaurants, banks, warehouses and homes were left as smoking shells. Similar explosions of anger and frustration swept through at least 30 towns and cities during the next nine nights.

More often than not, the police presence acted as a catalyst. It would be incorrect to say it was a single cause. Panicked government ministers, groping for an explanation, said that the "television generation" was engaged in "copycat violence." Surprisingly, that analysis drew top-level responses from the media, who defended their coverage of the violence on television news. And those who subscribe to the "copycat" theory could draw little comfort from the fact that one of the most serious outbreaks of violence



British police watch Toxteth burn.

occurred in the half-hour after a television appearance by Margaret Thatcher. In awful, agonizing tones she stated her position. "Law and order," she said without a trace of sympathy, "would be restored." It was almost as if she had added "at any cost."

The cost to British society so far has been the destruction of the communities within the nation on an ever increasing scale. The riots have not broken out just since July, as the media would have the rest of the world believe. Social relations have been breaking down over a much longer period. Street violence erupted in 1979 when a young school teacher was killed as he and 3,000 others demonstrated against the presence of the racist National Front in Southall, the area of west London with a large Asian population. And it broke out again in March, 1980, in Bristol, when large numbers of police stirred the anger of the black community there and a whole section of the city was devastated in the street fighting that followed. Then in the spring of this year, a build-up of police searches sparked the Brixton neighborhood to one of the worst outbreaks of rioting seen in southwest London.

Brixton, which the media now likes to call the front lines, is a bruised and battered community with a large West Indian population that is now the subject of yet another official inquiry—this one to determine why, when 100 police descended on one block of the area last week, searching, they said, for petrol bombs, they also smashed the doors and windows of homes, slashed furniture, carpets and clothing and tore away plumbing and electrical fittings.

There is little doubt that racist fires are fueled by the present atmosphere. The large Asian community of Southall was shocked when a local pub was booked for a concert by a rock group popular with the "skinheads," who are commonly regarded as pro-fascist. The police who roamed the streets trying to keep residents and skinheads apart themselves became the focus of fury. At the north end of the city the racial violence has been even more sinister. Rags soaked with petrol were poked through the front door of an Asian family's home and set alight. The mother and her three children burned to death.

But much of the street violence, which has erupted like a series of sores this summer throughout the country, has seen black and white youngsters joining in together in seemingly random expressions of hopelessness.

#### Graduating to despair.

Even the most loyal of Mrs. Thatcher's supporters are aware that this summer another 700,000 youngsters will leave school, flooding onto a labor market in which unemployment stands at 3 million. At least one in five people under the age of 19 is registered as unemployed—that's one-fifth of all those out of work. It's now predicted by the government's own manpower services agency that by the end of 1983, only 40 percent of the labor force under the age of 18 will have a job.

The work ethic is disappearing. School teachers say it's no longer any good trying to convince youngsters to study hard. Teachers remark on a feeling of hopelessness

among their pupils, manifested in the occasional outbursts of frustration, especially among the less able, who realize they stand no chance of finding work.

In one town, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4,800 young people will be leaving school this summer, and the city's career office has just 27 jobs to go around. Boys leaving school in towns such as this, have traditionally expected to enter apprenticeships in local shipyards. But because of the recession, firms are cutting back on apprenticeships, which are now running at about 40 percent below last year's level.

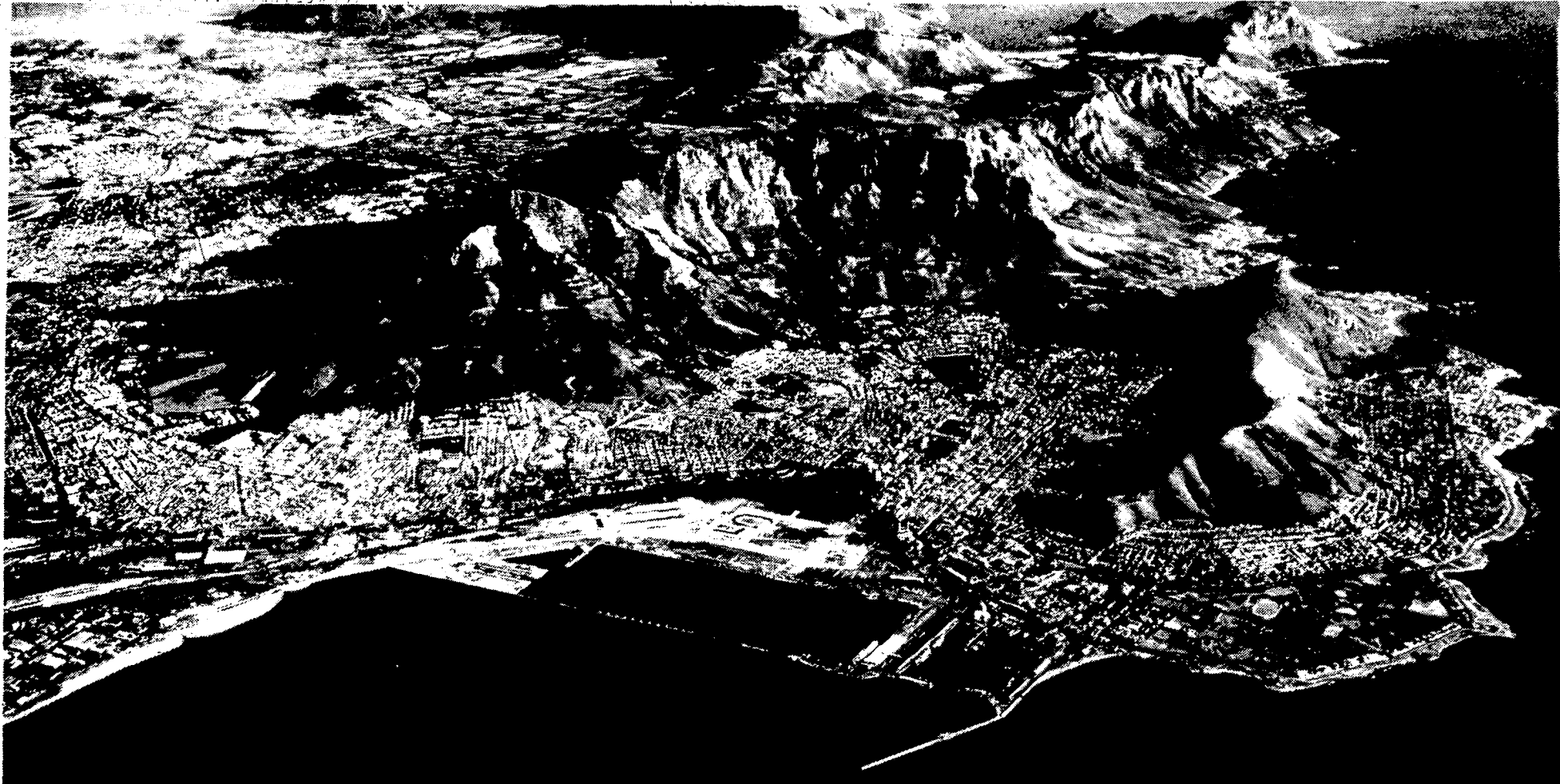
The government employment secretary, Jim Prior, who has been trying to persuade Mrs. Thatcher that unemployment is a major cause of the social unrest, wants the government to agree to a massive youth opportunities program that would offer every July school-leaver the chance of a six-month course in a factory, office, or college by Christmas. But last week, Mrs. Thatcher said that economic help for areas affected by recent violence—and that means money for the youth opportunities program—would be delayed until order has been "fully restored." That hard-line attitude coming on top of another year of vicious spending cuts that already have hit hard at the inner cities, has upset some of her cabinet to the extent that one senior minister, Peter Walker, came close to a public denouncement of Tory economic policies at the weekend. "If you go for efficiency," he said, "and don't bother about compassion, then you'll find a situation where such will be the deprivation that the hostility of the society will ruin efficiency."

It was in this divided state that Mrs. Thatcher's cabinet dispatched its right-wing minister, Michael Heseltine, to Liverpool to report on what had been going on there. The move has been described by Mrs. Thatcher's opposition as "throwing ministers at Liverpool instead of money." The community's response was a walkout on Monday, July 20, by Liverpool's defense committees, which claimed that Heseltine had come prepared to talk about everything but police activities. And that, they said, was the root of their problems. But, in fact, police activity is by no means the single cause of what is happening in Britain right now, and Mrs. Thatcher will have to face up to the reality that her monetarist policies are leading this country headlong toward further disaster. ■ Sylvia Collier reports occasionally on British politics.

Police harassment sparked demonstrations earlier this spring in Brixton.







## SOUTH AFRICA

# Cape Town loses its stately veneer

By James North

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

**A** WHITE WOMAN WHO DOES public affairs work for a charity here concisely summarized the paradox of Cape Town: "Truly magnificent scenic beauty—surrounding so much hatred, seething resentment, oppression."

Cape Town is situated in what is unquestionably one of the world's most beautiful natural settings. The older part of this city of one million nestles between the Atlantic Ocean and Table Mountain—the striking, flat-topped massif that soars 3,000 feet upward a short distance from the bay. Expansion blocked in that direction, the city has spilled around the edge of the peak and curved almost haphazardly down the Cape Peninsula. Ample rainfall creates a lush, Mediterranean-type climate. From almost any spot on the peninsula one is assured of an arresting panorama, a juxtaposition of evergreens, vineyards, mountains and the sea.

Europeans first settled here in 1652, soon after Boston was founded, and the two cities are curiously similar. Cape Town also has its older section of winding, cobble-stoned streets and small squares. Architects have by and large remained faithful to the city's original style as it expanded, designing the newer houses in the same stately, white Cape Dutch fashion. As a result, the city retains a certain charm that is utterly lacking in the modern and angular South African urban centers.

And to some extent the parallel with Boston includes social and political life as well. There are a number of "old" white families here—both English and Afrikaans-speaking—that proudly trace their ancestry back to the early settlers and look down on the up-starts elsewhere in the country. The Cape Town elite is the closest approximation of a South African aristocracy. Their exclusiveness is enhanced by geography: about 100 miles inland a vast, underpopulated region of deserts cuts the Cape off from the rest of the country.

Among whites, the dominant ideology has been a sort of moderate liberalism that, though vigorous in the 19th century, has grown increasingly smug and impotent. White Capetonians have long tended to dissociate themselves from the

cruder aspects of apartheid, even though most of them fail to question its economic underpinnings. In control of the city council, they moved away from some aspects of "petty" apartheid more quickly than the rest of the country. A number of restaurants, bus lines and other amenities here are already integrated.

Until recently, political impotence of a different sort prevailed within the black community as well. The majority of black people here are so-called coloreds, a legal category applied to the 2.5 million South Africans of mixed African, Asian and European descent. The colored people, 90 percent of whom live in the Cape province, have occupied a legal-political twilight zone between the African majority and the whites almost since the community started to emerge with the arrival of the first European settlers.

Until the National Party came to power in 1948, colored people enjoyed certain rights denied the African majority; some could even vote. (Even today, they can still own property, a right not permitted Africans outside the 13 percent of the country zoned as Bantustans, or homelands.)

But the Nationalists declared war on the vestigial rights of the colored people, and by the mid-'60s had managed to eliminate most of them. In response, the victims either lapsed into apathy or joined the Unity Movement, a semi-Trotskyist grouping that was long on internal schisms and sterile debate and short on action. Relatively few coloreds linked up with the major nationwide black liberation movements. The mass actions that did take place on occasion in Cape Town were carried out largely by Africans, who are a minority in the area.

In 1976 the political scene here changed dramatically. The nationwide uprising that year is named after Soweto, where it started, but arguably its greatest success was in Cape Town, where colored students joined the struggle in large numbers. Since then political activity has continued almost non-stop, and involved larger numbers of people, to the point where Cape Town, once sort of a backwater in the anti-apartheid struggle, is now in the vanguard.

Several factors contributed to the city's political renaissance. For one, increasingly harsh Nationalist legislation had ended (for the time being) any chance that colored people could make a separate, and more advantageous, arrangement with the regime. At the same



United Nations / A. Reininger

time, the Black Consciousness Movement was fighting with growing success to enlarge the definition of "black" to include coloreds and Indians as well as Africans, while the Unity Movement lost influence, due to a mixture of government suppression and a change of heart among some of its leaders and members.

The new Cape Town militance reflects a coming together of struggles at the workplace and in the community. In the past year alone, Cape activists have carried out a number of strikes as well as school boycotts, a bus boycott and a protest over electricity bills. The two streams have merged in several consumer boycotts, which have had some success in bringing pressure on recalcitrant employers.

Despite Cape Town's liberal reputa-

### The Cape and Table Mountain

tion, the security police here are as vicious and powerful as their colleagues elsewhere. Activists must therefore take extraordinary precautions: actions are typically guided by anonymous steering committees, which never meet twice at the same place. The procedure sounds cumbersome, but it actually seems to promote democracy and prevent the emergence of bureaucracy and hierarchy.

The various committees are independent, springing up to address particular issues. The police would swiftly crush any area-wide coordinating body or party. Nonetheless, there is apparently growing sympathy for the outlawed African National Congress, though there seem to be few direct links between the guerrilla movement and the community groups.

The upsurge of political activity has brought the colored and African communities closer together. In physical appearance, colored people are widely diverse, rather like Puerto Ricans. Some can (though fewer and fewer do) "play white," while others are almost indistinguishable from Africans. Culturally, Afrikaans is the dominant language among coloreds, though English is catching up, particularly among the better-educated. Africans, on the other hand, typically speak an African language at home, with either English or Afrikaans (or both) as a second language.

These cultural distinctions are less meaningful as joint action between the two groups increases. A colored electrician explained, "They used to sometimes call us 'malaous'—a very insulting word. I think it comes from 'mulatto' or something. Anyway, you don't hear the word as much anymore." Nor are coloreds as likely any longer to call Africans "kaffirs," South Africa's version of "nigger."

### Divide and rule.

The efforts toward unity are made more difficult by laws partly designed to keep the two groups apart. The Group Areas Act—a notorious measure passed by the all-white parliament in 1950—reserves separate communities for the different population groups. They are also required to attend separate schools. There is even a separate university for colored students. It is officially called the University of the Western Cape, but it is universally and disparagingly known as "Bush College," due to its remote location.

Another obstacle to unity is the Colored Labor Preference policy, which requires employers in the Western Cape to furnish detailed proof that no colored workers are available before they hire Africans. The policy may have hampered economic growth in the region; it certainly tends to increase tension between the two groups.



The Group Areas Act applies nationwide, but it has been carried out most extensively and brutally in the Western Cape. It might be described as "gentrification" by cruel, legislative force. In the Cape province more than 300,000 colored and Indian people have been uprooted and moved since 1950 after certain areas—usually choice central city spots—were "declared" white.

The most celebrated removals took place from District Six, an old, predominantly colored area almost within walking distance of the city center. "The District," which is featured in the novels of the colored writer Alex La Guma, was once a rundown but vibrant community with a treasured history.

Ten years ago, the bulldozers moved in. Today, the area is mostly rubble, reminiscent of the worst parts of the South Bronx. Most of the residents were removed to Mitchell's Plain, a cold, red brick, rectangular, featureless development 12 miles from town.

There are other colored areas closer to town, but they are hopelessly short of housing. The names of some give an impression of style and comfort: Lavender Hills, Grassy Park, Valhalla Park. In fact, the areas are mostly impoverished, bleak zones of tiny, matchbox homes or slum housing projects. There are two main types of housing, officially designated "economic" or "sub-economic." The major difference is whether a place has hot water. Even more dismal are the squatter camps, where shacks of corrugated metal sit abjectly among the sand dunes. One such place is called Vrygrond (Free Ground); despite the name, the squatters must pay rent to the municipality.

Street gangs roam these depressed ghetto areas. Cape Town is estimated to have the highest crime rate in South Africa, which itself has two and-one-half times as many homicides each year as the United States, with only one-eighth America's population. The gangs spray-paint their names on buildings and along fences: "the Born Free Kids," "Stalag 17," "the Wizards."

In recent years, though, a different sort of graffiti has started to appear in the same spots. "This IS a Police State," one reads. Another says, "Free the Detainees—Azanians: Fight for your Rights." A third, apparently a collaborative effort between two people with differing commands of English, reads: "They Killing Us: i.e. the SA Police."

#### Too little, too late.

Not all the colored areas are poor. There are appreciably extensive sections of tidy, occasionally even large houses, almost indistinguishable from those in nearby

The regime hopes the Council will produce a political set-up that will both buy off sizeable chunks of the colored and Indian communities and simultaneously mollify international opinion. But it has little hope of success, as long as Africans are excluded from the deliberation process. Twenty—even 10—years ago, such a scheme might have worked, but too much has changed. Even the Labor Party, once viewed as militant, has lost support to its left, particularly in Cape Town and other urban areas. "We once thought people like Sonny Leon [a former Labor Party chieftain] were extremely progressive," a young teacher explained. "Now no one here pays any attention to people like him."

This does not mean the regime will be unable to win over at least some segments of the colored community and parade their leaders into the international spotlight to the delight of Western conservatives and corporate managers. But the bulk of the community is likely to remain committed to the confrontational pro-

largest city.

ANC saboteurs struck simultaneously hundreds of miles apart, blowing up railroad links, attacking a police station and levelling an army recruiting center in Durban days before the Republic Day Festival reached its climax. Since then, similar attacks have continued at regular intervals. The campaign, in which no one has been killed, proves the ANC is observing its promise to hit only "military" targets and avoid attacks on civilians. The sabotage wave also tends to substantiate the organization's claim that it has established an underground network *inside* the country, rather than sending guerrillas in for each attack.

Other protests also marked Republic Day and June 16, the fifth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. At the two mostly white, English-speaking universities, clashes erupted between leftist students (both black and white) and right-wingers. At both schools, leftists burned South African flags, leading predictably to a storm of protest from the regime and

control and hit her.

The regime struck back quickly. It "banned" several student leaders, both black and white, and detained scores of trade unionists, students and journalists. Ironically, among the detainees were precisely the sort of blacks the regime and its allies are trying to win over. In recent years, the government has permitted Johannesburg's previously all-white University of the Witwatersrand, and the University of Cape Town, to admit more black students in an effort to reduce the shortage of trained managers in the country. "Wits" has instituted a special "cadet" program for blacks, funded by the gigantic Anglo-American Corporation, which is the flagship of the new initiative. In the crackdown, security police raided a cadet hostel, arresting 10 of the black students who are apparently not playing the role Anglo has assigned to them.

As the police swoop was getting underway, Prime Minister P.W. Botha warmly welcomed U.S. Deputy Secre-



Since 1950, 300,000 colored and Indian people have been relocated to squalid suburbs as choice central areas are declared "white."



white zones. It is the inhabitants of these areas who the regime hopes will lead other colored people to its side, lured by some political concessions and increasing prosperity.

In the 1970s the regime had set up a Colored Peoples' Representative Council, which had limited powers over some aspects of colored affairs. The leading group in the CRC, the Labor Party, played an odd game; it denounced the body's credibility, but entered—and won—elections nonetheless. (Only coloreds could vote.) The regime last year abolished the discredited CRC, in order to clear the way for its President's Council—a wholly-appointed body of whites, coloreds and Indians that is presently meetings, behind closed doors, to draw up a new constitutional plan.

gram of labor and community activism, and to become increasingly sympathetic to the exiled guerrilla movement.

#### A wave of protest.

Due partly to Cape Town's geographic location far from friendly borders, it was one of the few urban centers not affected by the wave of sabotage the ANC has carried out over the past few months. The first spate of attacks took place the week before May 31, when the regime sponsored a festival to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the date white South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth and voted to declare a republic. Even moderate black groups boycotted the festival, which capped a series of tedious local celebrations with a gigantic military parade in Durban, the third-

The greatest success of the 1976 uprising that began in Soweto was that coloreds in Cape Town joined the fight. Since then political action has continued almost nonstop.

white conservatives. (The government discovered to its chagrin it had no special legislation to outlaw flag-burning; it promised to rectify the oversight promptly.)

On June 16, a stay-away by black workers and students in Johannesburg was more than 50 percent effective. A similar effort in Cape Town—where police shot up to 50 people in last year's protest—was less successful. The only casualty occurred in Durban, where a black woman was killed after demonstrators stoned a bus, which lurched out of

tary of State William Clark to Cape Town to discuss the Namibian question. (Botha mercifully seems to have overlooked the fact that Clark could not identify him at the Senate confirmation hearings a few months back.)

The ruling establishment here is growing increasingly cocky about the Reagan administration's tilt in its direction. *Die Burger*, the Cape Town Afrikaans daily, even advised the United States to replace Ambassador William Edmondson; it airily said Edmondson, a career diplomat, was too closely linked to the Carter policies.

Perhaps the most appropriate contrast to the official U.S. cowardice was given recently by Weaver Magcai, a young black man whom the South African regime recently tried to force into being a state witness against a colleague, Wordsworth Kholekile Mhlana, accused of having undergone training as an ANC guerrilla fighter. The regime arrested Magcai, and apparently tortured him until he agreed to testify. But in the courtroom he reversed his position, and said he would give no evidence. The judge immediately sentenced him to three years in prison. He proudly raised his clenched fist. The judge gave him another six months for contempt of court.



# Taxes

Continued from page 3

ate income tax is well on its way to extinction," *Business Week* remarked.

While the Republican proposal would reduce business taxes through a combination of faster depreciation for plant and equipment (the "10-5-3 plan") and an investment tax credit, the Democratic proposal would allow companies to write off their investments immediately and would lower the corporate income tax from 46 percent to 34 percent. When the various credits and deductions are figured in, the effective corporate income tax on most large corporations would be less than 10 percent.

The Republican and the Democratic bills also omit any provisions that would target investments away from speculation and overseas investment. Two amendments introduced by Ways and Means Democrats James Shannon and

Frank Guarini were designed to do this, but they received little support. (Guarini's AFL-CIO-backed proposal for a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation had garnered only 13 House co-sponsors as of last week.)

On the contrary, both the Republican and Rostenkowski bills specifically encourage speculation and overseas investment. Both bills include higher deductions on their American taxes for the overseas employees of multinational corporations. The House bill, in a nod toward Rostenkowski and the Chicago Board of Trade, would allow commodity traders to continue the use of "commodity straddles," a tax-avoidance gimmick that permits traders as much as \$4 million a year in untaxable income.

Both bills also include special plums for the wealthy. They raise the amount of inheritance exempt from estate taxes from \$175,625 to \$600,000. They increase the exclusion on gift taxes from \$3,000 to \$10,000. And they provide favored treatment for employees receiving stock options rather than cash—a common way of paying top executives.

But perhaps the final indignity will be the expected acceptance by the Ways and Means Democrats as well as the Senate Republicans of a reduction in the oil companies' windfall taxes. *Citizens for Tax Justice* has estimated that the new tax breaks would allow a typical beneficiary, Standard Oil of Indiana, which otherwise would owe \$432 million in estimated gross taxes, to deduct \$441.5 million.

## Business united.

Besides the Reagan administration's expert salesmanship, there are several other factors in the current tax debate. Previously, corporate lobbyists from the American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF), the Business Roundtable, the Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers have quarrelled over specific measures like the investment tax credit or the Kemp-Roth personal tax cut. This year the lobbyists, dubbed the "Carlton Group" for their breakfast meetings at Washington's Carlton Hotel, united behind both "10-5-3" and Kemp-Roth.

On the other hand, labor has been singularly ineffective in its opposition to Kemp-Roth and the corporate tax reductions. "Labor's position on the bill as a lobbying force is the lowest it has been in 50 years," one labor lobbyist admitted. "Nobody fears [AFL-CIO president Lane] Kirkland. He can't scare an 80-year-old lady."

But perhaps most important, House Democrats, who as members of the majority party became used to corporate contributions, have continued to hew the business line on tax issues. "Business is entitled to its decade, and I will try to help them get it," Rostenkowski told a meeting of the ACCF.

# Flies

Continued from page 5

fumigants DBCP and EDB, also finds herself supporting the state's malathion campaign for fear of something worse. "Everything's gone wrong so far," she says. "The state should have sprayed five months ago. Now it's probably too late. They should spray like crazy and get it over with—and I'm no supporter of agribusiness."

Garrett and others fear that if the spraying doesn't work, growers will be forced to an even more dangerous option—widespread fumigation of fruit crops after they have been picked. The two most widely used fumigants are methyl bromide and ethylene dibromide (EDB), the chemical that has taken the place of the now banned DBCP. Methyl bromide is a known mutagen, and EDB is a proven carcinogen, mutagen, suspected teratogen and destroyer of human sperm cells.

If the federal government—or a combination of states—enforces an embargo of California produce, growers will turn to fumigation as a way to save the fresh fruit crop. But there are very few fumigation chambers now in use—not nearly enough to handle this year's production.

"There's a little-known clause in the California pesticide use laws that permits box cars and warehouses to be converted to fumigation chambers under emergency conditions," Garrett says. "That would expose thousands of farmworkers, warehouse workers, truck drivers and food handlers."

## "The fight is lost."

As the first week of spraying ended, Governor Brown declared the Medfly infestation "out of control" in the southern Bay Area and officially requested disaster relief from the federal government. Unofficially, the state Medfly Eradication Team set in motion a program of increasingly more toxic sprays.

Terrance Allen, a renegade entomologist kicked off the Medfly team last year for advocating immediate aerial spraying, now says, "The fight is lost. It's so far gone that even if they throw everything at it, they're not going to eradicate it."

Integrated pest management (IPM) has been raised time and again as an alternative during the 11 months since two adult Medflies were first trapped on a citrus tree in San Jose. IPM uses a combination of natural biological predators, genetic control and environmental controls on the fruit trees themselves.

"The sterile fruit fly program would have worked," claims University of California, Berkeley, entomologist Kenneth Hagen. "It failed because of human error—that's all. Human error caused the release of the fertile flies, seeding the valley with the Medfly."

"The problem now is time. There is no place for IPM in an eradication campaign. Pesticide spraying from the air is the last, most powerful tool we have."

Laurie Garrett also thinks that it's too late for IPM in the Santa Clara Valley. "University and corporate research has concentrated on pesticides for years," she says. "You couldn't get funding for IPM. Now we're getting one infestation after another from overseas pests, and we only have chemical weapons to fight them. The chickens have come home to roost."

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the democratic candidate for Governor of Michigan

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"...the Michigan State University criminal justice professor has traditionally been the left's most articulate spokesman on issues of economic democracy, racism, sexism, the environment and peace."

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## EUROPE

# Germans question new missile "logic"

By Diana Johnstone

KOBLENZ, WEST GERMANY

**T**HE GROWING GERMAN MOVEMENT against the nuclear arms race is being widely misrepresented as an expression of emotion contrary to reason, of sentimental pacifism or even of a sort of moral laziness called "defeatism." This false image is spread by the conservative German press through the perfected technique of reporting certain outward manifestations of a movement—crowds applaud "frenetically"—while neglecting to report what thoughts produced these manifestations. Thus the movement appears unreasonable, a body without a mind.

In fact, the movement is based on a rigorously logical analysis of the strategic implications of the NATO plan to deploy American Pershing II nuclear missiles on German territory starting in 1983.

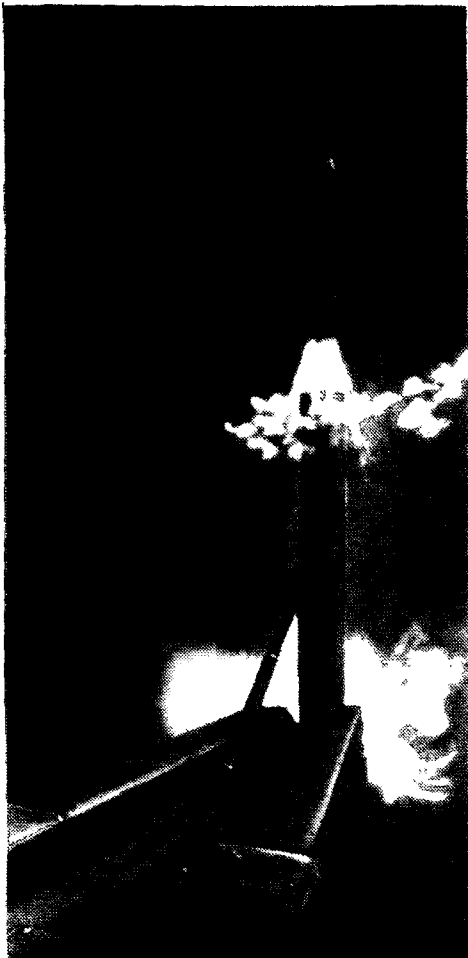
This analysis is far more logical than the explanations being offered in support of the NATO missile deployment. It was brilliantly put forth at the recent Juso congress by Erhard Eppler, a prominent member of the SPD leadership. Characteristically, conservative German newspapers ignored Eppler's analysis, while reporting his advice to the Jusos to be more tactful when criticizing the Bonn government.

Eppler observed that there was very little reality in the "tough realists' discussion of strategy, which is heavily laced with "speculative psychology" about who would do what when that amounts not to fact but to unchecked fiction. The "tough realists" have brought Germany to disaster in two world wars, he recalled, while those who were labelled starry-eyed idealists turned out to be right in their warnings.

What has really changed in the last two years to justify the sudden alarms and threats of war? "The medium range missile threat to Western Europe and the German Federal Republic has not changed. For nearly 20 years, 600 Soviet medium range SS4 and SS5 missiles with nuclear warheads each equal to some 70 Hiroshima bombs have threatened Western Europe and the German Federal Republic. This was so when Chancellor Kiesinger began to speak of detente in 1967, it was so when the Eastern treaties were signed and when Willy Brandt resigned and Helmut Schmidt became chancellor. It has always been so, but nobody talked about it.

"Why did nobody talk about it then, and why is everyone talking today about the SS20s?" The United States never got especially worked up about the SS4 and SS5 missile all those years. "All through the '60s, then through the '70s, the Americans were scarcely interested, even in SALT talks. That wasn't their concern." Like all military powers, the USSR has been modernizing its equipment, replacing the SS4s and SS5s with the SS20s, which are more accurate and thus can be used against military targets as well as population centers. But the potential threat to the peoples of Europe is virtually the same. Why now are the Americans so worked up, why are they so insistent on deploying missiles of their own to counter the SS20s, when they never felt the need in the case of the SS4s and SS5s? "It has nothing at all to do with the SS20s," Eppler concluded. "There is absolutely no logical connection between the deployment of the SS20s on one side and the deployment of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles on the other."

The Soviet SS20s, stationed deep inside Russian territory between the Volga and the Ural, have the range to reach and knock out the Pershings if and when



Though the new Soviet SS20s are more accurate, the threat to Europe is the same.

they are deployed on German territory, whereas the Pershings do not have the range to hit the SS20s. "In other words, we are told that we need the Pershings as a countermeasure against the SS20s, though indeed they provide the SS20s with a wonderful target here—if a mobile one—whereas on the other hand the Pershings can't do anything to the SS20s. Is this logical?"

### New scenarios.

So what are the Pershings really for? asked Eppler, suggesting that they "belong to an entirely different context than the SS20s." This context is the changed terms of the American strategic debate

in the last couple of years. With more numerous and smaller warheads and more accurate missiles, the discussion has begun over "whether an atomic war can be waged, limited and thus won. And the Pershing and Cruise missiles belong precisely to this context."

A number of Germans, and not just Eppler, have been reading recent articles by American strategists and have come to the same conclusions. Improved technical accuracy has enhanced the advantage of a first strike, at least in the minds of the experts. The Pershing II has been successfully tested at the White Sands proving grounds with the "earth penetrator" warhead, capable of burrowing 12 meters underground before exploding. This is a weapon that theoretically could be aimed at command bunkers.

"The most frightening threat to the Soviet Union would be the destruction or serious impairment of its political system," wrote Hudson Institute strategists Colin Gray and Keith Payne in a *Foreign Policy* article last summer entitled "Victory Is Possible," which has been lengthily quoted by the widely-read West German weekly *Der Spiegel*. "The USSR, with its gross overcentralization of authority, epitomized by its vast bureaucracy in Moscow, should be highly vulnerable to such an attack. The Soviet Union might cease to function if its security agency, the KGB, were severely crippled. If the Moscow bureaucracy could be eliminated, damaged, or isolated, the USSR might disintegrate into anarchy, hence the extensive civil defense preparations intended to insure the survival of the Soviet leadership. Judicious U.S. targeting and weapon procurement policies might be able to deny the USSR the assurance of political survival."

The land-based missiles have target accuracy, but they would take half an hour to reach Moscow, giving the Kremlin time to react. The Pershings could reach Moscow in only about five minutes.

Precisely because of the powerful Soviet missiles aimed at the relatively small target of German territory, it has long been recognized that nuclear missiles in West Germany could serve only as a first-strike weapon, never as a retaliation—something Helmut Schmidt himself wrote back in 1961. That is why there have been no strategic nuclear missiles aimed at Soviet targets stationed in West Germany. Potential retaliation is provided by nuclear submarines. And Schmidt has privately told people that what he really had in mind when he asked for something to counter the SS20s was the sea-based NATO Cruise missiles.

IN THESE TIMES JULY 29-AUGUST 11, 1981 11

Eppler said the specialists are now discussing the fact that in a tense situation the fear generated by the thought that each side knows the other side knows that a first strike might largely disarm the other will be too much for human nerves. "And when, in addition, missiles are stationed in the German Federal Republic that can strike Soviet command centers in the Kremlin and elsewhere within five minutes, then tension will naturally rise, because in such a case political decision-making becomes impossible." The deployment of the Pershings is a qualitative rather than a quantitative change in the strategic situation.

Bonn defense officials justify the Pershings with the argument that because the USSR has "taken the German population hostage" with its SS20s, NATO must take part of the Soviet population hostage. Eppler retorts: "Then don't be surprised if a new conflict begins with a super-Mogadishu (when German police commandos killed hijackers holding a Lufthansa jet) with the Russians freeing their hostages."

### A lightning rod of doom.

"If I am right," said Eppler, "there exists today among strategists and politicians a terrible form of hopelessness. They think we are not going to be able to prevent the Third World War, the atomic war. So then they naturally ask, 'if we

## The Pershing IIs might serve as a "lightning rod" to draw a Soviet pre-emptive strike.

can't prevent it, how can we go about it so that we survive, even if others don't?"

For American strategists, the solution can be to try to arrange a limited nuclear war in Europe. If Eppler didn't say this in so many words, the implication is clear, and others are saying it more and more clearly. The Pershing II missiles have two strategic purposes, both "reasonable" from the prevailing U.S. viewpoint. One is as a gun pointed at the head of the Soviet Union, to paralyze the Russians while the U.S. does what it wants in the Third World. The other is a sort of lightning rod to draw a nervous Soviet pre-emptive strike in case international tension rises

Continued on page 22

# Party youth urge opposition

By Diana Johnstone

KOBLENZ, WEST GERMANY

**W**EST GERMANY'S 350,000 Young Socialists ("Jusos") are going all out to persuade their more conservative parent, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), to oppose stationing of Pershing II and Cruise missiles on German soil. The threat of nuclear annihilation hung over the cozy town of Lahnstein on the Rhine at the Juso congress in late June, bringing together the organization's contending factions in rare unanimity. Everyone agreed to give top priority to getting the 1982 SPD congress to reverse its December 1979 "double decision" to accept installation of the American nuclear missiles in 1983 and at the same time urge Soviet-American negotiations that hopefully could get the USSR to dismantle the SS20 nuclear missiles aimed at Europe.

The Reagan administration's evident unwillingness to get involved in negotiations that might take away the pretext to install U.S. Pershing II missiles in West Germany is helping the anti-missile movement to spread like wildfire. The Protestant churches took the lead in criticizing the "double decision" that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt forced on his reluctant party on the grounds that the NATO decision to deploy the nuclear



The missile issue has united the "green," or environmentalist faction of the Jusos with the "reds" who are more concerned with the economy.

missiles would persuade the Russians to negotiate about the SS20s. But since then, Soviet offers to negotiate have been ignored.

At Krefeld last Nov. 15, a group of prominent citizens including Pastor Martin Niemoller and General Gert Bastian declared that the "December 12, 1979, NATO decision is more and more obviously turning out to have been a fatal error." They launched the "Krefeld Appeal," calling on the Bonn government to withdraw its consent to the stationing

of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Central Europe, and have gathered over 700,000 signatures. Some Social Democrats have also launched the "Bielefeld Appeal," which seeks signatures only within the SPD, to meet objections of those who condemn the Krefeld Appeal because Communists are among its supporters.

Meanwhile, the missile decision has been opposed by the metal workers, printers and commercial, bank and in-

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# SETTLING A

BY LESTER RODNEY

**"T**HERE WAS A TIME WHEN the League stood for integrity and fair dealing. Today it stands for dollars and cents. Once it looked to the elevation of the game and an honest exhibition of the sport. Today its eyes are upon the turnstiles. Men have come into the business

for no other motive than to exploit it for every dollar in sight. Players have been bought, sold and exchanged as though they were sheep instead of American citizens. . ."

These bitter words were part of a document entitled "To the Public," in which an overwhelming majority of the players in the National League explained, almost 92 years ago, why they were forming their own league for the 1890 baseball season. And they did. The Brotherhood League took 80 percent of the National League's players, including the New York, Chicago and Philadelphia rosters intact!

History is not impatient America's long suit. To most fans, today's baseball strike is a bewilderingly alien interruption to a hitherto idyllic national pastime. In fact baseball, like most major American activities in which big money is involved, has a little-known history of recurring militance against the owners.

The issues of 1981 are not the issues of 1889, any more than the demands of today's coal miners are those of the old Molly Maguires. But they are umbilically connected, and shed light on today's events. Let's peek back.

The ballplayers of '89 took the audacious step of forming their own league because the owners, holding the blacklist weapon known as the reserve clause, had imposed a \$2,000 salary maximum, and no player was able to get an advance on that salary. A historical association collection contains letters penned in mid-winter by desperate players, some with pregnant wives, asking for an advance, since they had no other means of livelihood but baseball. The letters were unanswered. When a committee of players asked for a meeting with the owners, they were not only turned down, but for punitive good measure the magnates then added a new ruling: players' salaries within the \$2,000 maximum would henceforth be classified by "habits and earnestness," with no appeals permitted. That blew the lid.

And what are the issues in 1981? Instant millionaire players with arrogant agents trying to squeeze ever more money out of harrassed owners? Not exactly.

#### They knew it then.

Six years ago, professional baseball players finally won a court ruling that broke the feudal ownership system. Up to 1975, in modern, union-conscious America, once a player signed a contract, he was the property of that team's owner for the rest of his career, unless the owner

deigned to trade or release him. As the articulate players of 1889 put it in another section of their remarkable public appeal: "Reservation became for them (the owners) another name for property right in the player. By a combination among themselves, stronger than the strongest trust, they were able to enforce the most arbitrary measure, and the player had either to submit or get out of the profession in which he had spent years attaining a proficiency."

Words that pretty clearly reflect awareness of growing anti-trust sentiment as big business moved from early capitalist free enterprise toward controlled monopolies.

But it took another 86 years for the courts of the land to stop pretending that big league baseball was not a business, and to strike down the reserve clause. The players, in the interest of league stability, then made the voluntary concession that no player would be eligible for free agency until he had served six years in the big leagues. No small concession, considering that six years is longer than the average big league life. (And players could still be traded from team to team without their consent until they had served ten years.)

Reducing the freeness of free agency a bit further, the owners wangled the agreement that a team losing a free agent player to Team A would be compensated by one of Team A's amateur draft choices. Now the owners want the right to be compensated for the loss of a good player by getting one of Team A's regular players. This would drastically reduce a free agent player's bargaining power, since Team A would be reluctant to sign him at the cost of losing a star. The players correctly perceive this demand as part of the owners' relentless drive to make the 1975 victory meaningless. With massive strike insurance, the owners could care more about the fans and the good old game. They are out to regain their old advantage over the players.

This is the sole issue. The players are not striking for more money or for any new principle, but to hold the basic American rights they finally won six years ago. This simple, central fact somehow gets buried in the mountain of words about the negotiations.

#### The disappearing unions.

Now you'd think, as a minimum, that organized labor would be strongly backing the ballplayers, wouldn't you? Not so you could notice. There still is the tendency not to take seriously the rights of men

comment on our values that even a highly skilled athlete may make twice as much dough as a university president. I sometimes catch myself succumbing to this ambivalence about the players, so I suspect a few others do too.

Those great "sportsmen," the baseball owners, thank us, one and all, for such confusion.

Former Yankee pitcher Jim Bouton, author of the irreverent book *Ball Four*, sees it a little clearer. "Neither the players nor the owners deserve the money," he says, "but the owners deserve it less, because they don't play. Nobody comes to watch the owners." And, he adds, "the media provides free advertising, the taxpayers provide the stadiums. The owners didn't invent anything, or make any products. Their only asset is their claim to own the players, who don't want to be owned. Baseball could be run by a good travel agent, and a central office to divide up the players."

Jim might have added that the owners don't risk having their careers ended abruptly by injury, and don't become obsolete old men in their trade while in their 30s.

'Twas ever thus. The Brotherhood players of 1890 were reviled as bums and had their patriotism called into question. One newspaper stated that members of the Washington team smoked opium. The National League newspaper, *The Sporting Times*, labelled the Brotherhood players, "ingrates, men without principles, drunken knaves, men would be idling on street corners but for the opportunity the National League had opened for them."

Interestingly, the presumably less-



John Montgomery Ward founded the player-run Brotherhood League in 1889.



# OLD SCORE



Chicago player-manager Cap Anson, above with the team mascot in 1888, refused to let his team play blacks.

educated players of that day seemed to fight back more effectively in the public arena than today's stars, who might take some public relations lessons from their predecessors. Traded from Detroit to Cleveland, a player named Larry Twitchell wrote to newspapers in both cities: "I am a baseball player. I support my wife and family on the money I earn in the field. In 1888 I played with Detroit. This year I was sold to Cleveland and told that I must play in that city or leave a business in which I have spent my life to attain proficiency. Now suppose I were a theatrical manager. I signed a contract. After I had fulfilled my contract with them, they could say to me, you must manage our opera house in Hoboken next year or we will drive you out of the business. Well, I guess not!"

(Modern-day players do sometimes speak up, with somewhat less style. In 1950, Brooklyn Dodger outfielder Gene Hermanski, told he was being traded, said, "No ballplayer likes to be traded. After all, I have my home and family here. Doesn't anybody every think of that?")

## Brotherhood League.

What happened to the brave Brotherhood League? In the face of determined sabotage by the National League owners and hostility by most of the press, with enormous problems in finding and renting suitable fields and in publicizing schedules, the new league actually outdrew the established League. In Pittsburgh, fans turned out for the Brotherhood games eight to one over the owner's patchwork club, which featured Billy Sunday, later to become the Billy Graham of his time.

The National League magnates ran a calculated spoiling operation, deliberately scheduling games to conflict with every Brotherhood game. Several disastrous losing franchises, unable to secure suitable facilities, backed the new league to the financial wall despite relative success in other cities. Many of the players had invested their life savings in the league, and went broke. Yet at least one baseball historian, Lee Allen, says the Brotherhood had the National League desperate and on the ropes and didn't realize it. Manger at year's end amounted to a surrender, though the Brotherhood did win a guarantee of no reprisals. All players went back to their old rosters.

The owners' chief stooge was one Cap Anson, Chicago White Stocking player-manager, who assailed the Brotherhood players as "men of low principles."

This same Cap Anson has one other

claim to fame. He loudly refused to have his team play exhibition games against any team with Negro players. There were about 20 Negroes in the minor leagues in the 1880s, none in the majors. When Anson had finished his dirty work, there were no longer any Negroes in organized baseball, minor or major. It is a peculiarly instructive footnote to the history of our national pastime that the game's most notorious fink and number one racist were one and the same person.

Speaking about "men without principles," in midseason A.G. Spalding, head of the magnates' "war committee," waved a check for \$10,000 at Mike (King) Kelly, who led Boston to the Brotherhood's first and only pennant. Kelly spurned the attempt to buy him out.

The one major defection was in the other direction. The owner of the National League's Cincinnati team, Aaron Stern, denounced the league's tactics and sold his franchise to the Brotherhood. (Several months ago, Baltimore owner Edward Bennett Williams, called the "loose cannon" by the magnates' negotiator, Ray Grebey, was assailed for saying that for the owners to force a strike over compensation would be "lunacy, sheer lunacy." And Harry Dalton, general manager of the Milwaukee team, was fined \$50,000 for daring to say he hoped "management is trying for a compromise and not a victory, but I'm not certain that is the case.")

## Straws in the wind.

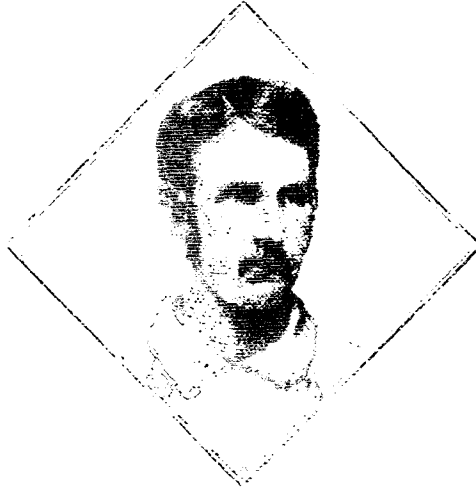
The valiant Brotherhood effort was not the only instance of player militance in



In 1912 the entire Detroit team refused to play unless suspended Ty Cobb was reinstated.

baseball history. In 1912 the entire Detroit team refused to play unless Ty Cobb, whom they felt had been unfairly suspended, was reinstated. The league put "Detroit" uniforms on some coaches and hastily assembled semipro. The Philadelphia A's, laughing all the way, beat the motley scab team 24-2. The next day's scheduled game was canceled, and serious negotiations ended in a compromise.

This one-day strike over a non-economic issue inspired a one-man unionization effort that winter. A Providence attorney and former ballplayer named David Fultz started collecting dues, at \$18 a year. Though short-lived, his efforts did win one concession from the immediately frightened owners—a rule forbidding any team from sending a player



Owners' "war committee" head Spalding (above) tried to bribe Mike Kelly (right) back into the National League.

down to the minor leagues until all other big league teams had a chance to sign him. This was the waiver rule, which corrected a long-standing grievance.

The Federal League in 1914-15, unlike the Brotherhood League, did not stem from the players. It was conceived by businessmen who wanted in on the monopolized baseball gravy. They stocked their rosters by dangling more money before the players than the two established leagues were paying. During its brief spin, the Fed gave superstar Tris Speaker a 100 percent raise over his American League salary. The advent of WWI was a central factor in ending this challenge to the established moguls.

A little known bit of collective resistance shocked the owners in February, 1941, when 17 members of the Chicago Cubs received contracts from new general manager Jim Gallagher calling for wage slashes. As a sportswriter on the Hearst *Chicago American*, Gallagher had scabbed during a long strike. The 17 Cubs, acting together, refused to sign. The mass holdout, including star regulars Billy Herman, Stan Hack, Phil Cavarretta and Augie Galan, lasted several months and won the players some raises. The *Chicago Sun-Times* flatly called it "baseball's first general salary strike." Sports editor Marvin McCarthy asked in print, "Is baseball unionism, long discussed but never carried out, at last under way?" It wasn't, because of the union movement's continued obtuseness, but it was a straw in the wind.

Finally, in the lushly profitable post-WWII days, a Boston lawyer named Robert Murphy, with no baseball background, simply walked into hotel lobbies in 1946 and started talking union to the players, stressing only a decent minimum wage and the right of a player to get part of the purchase price when sold. Even this haphazard, one-man effort won a majority on at least five teams, in a matter of weeks.

Concentrating on the Pittsburgh Pirates for a showdown, Murphy asked owner Benswanger for a little collective bargaining and was turned down. Mur-

phy passed the news along to the players before a June 5th game with the Dodgers. Barred from the player clubhouse by hostile Pirate manger Frank Frisch, he couldn't attend the player meeting. The players voted to give Benswanger an ultimatum: bargain or we won't play the game with the Giants Friday night (two nights later).

That June 7th, most fans streaming in to old Forbes Field were unaware of the high pre-game drama, and were puzzled at the unaccustomed sight of the visiting team taking batting practice first and then going right into fielding practice. Where were the Pirates? They were in the clubhouse, listening to owner Benswanger (his first appearance there in 15 years) make a mollifying speech, telling them he had no idea there were grievances, and



that a strike was not only very serious but unnecessary. The players heard him out, then locked the doors for a vote. A bitter debate raged for two hours and five minutes. Veteran pitcher Rip Sewell warned they would all be thrown out of baseball if they struck.

Stop and consider the moment. Here were ballplayers organized by one man who had no standing in the trade union movement. With no evidence of support from the other 15 big league teams' players, no evidence of fan support (both of which could have been easily obtained by a union), with a virulently hostile manager, a hostile press that heaped ridicule upon Murphy and the Guild, with paying customers already in the stands, they discussed a strike in the face of an entrenched monopoly that held a blacklist weapon against them.

Yet the Pittsburgh Pirate players voted 20-16 to drop gloves and bats and strike. It wasn't the two-thirds agreed upon, so the team emerged tight-lipped, brushed past reporters and walloped the Giants 10-5.

The thoroughly alarmed magnates quickly made some gestures to short-circuit the Guild. The Cleveland team, for one, was also ready to strike, it was learned later. A \$5,000 minimum salary, first minimum in baseball history, was proclaimed, along with other minor reforms. That winter an elaborate company union was set up, with a system of "player representatives" with no real power. The owners' big gun, the reserve clause with its blacklist provision, remained in place.

The 20 Pittsburgh players who said "Strike" that night were the descendants of the fighting anti-trust Brotherhood of 1889, and the forerunners of today's players who refuse to let the owners sabotage their basic rights.

Lester Rodney is the ex-sports editor of the *Daily Worker* and a regular contributor on sports to *In These Times*.



## EDITORIAL

*A new strategy for the New South*

The victory of Democrat Wayne Dowdy in the July 7 congressional race in Jackson, Miss., casts doubt upon the "Southern strategy" that has guided Republican and New Right political operatives. It also suggests a new approach for liberal and left-wing Democrats in the 1980s.

Republicans have controlled Mississippi's fourth congressional district, which includes Jackson, since 1972. For GOP strategists Jackson's upwardly mobile white middle class is typical of their new Sunbelt base, which stretches from Columbia, South Carolina, to San Diego. These strategists have tended to discount the blacks and Hispanics—mostly working class and lower income,

*Dowdy defeated the right's sunbelt strategy by winning the overwhelming support of labor and blacks.*

and solidly Democratic—who also live in Jackson, Houston and Columbia. In the fourth congressional district, for instance, 45 percent of the population is black.

There was some justification for this. Blacks and Hispanics have tended to vote in much lower proportions than middle-class whites. And Democratic candidates have often differed little from their Republican rivals on issues important to minorities. In Mississippi's fourth district, dissatisfaction with white Democratic candidates had spawned a succession of independent black candidates who split the Democratic vote.

But in the 1981 by-election precipitated by the resignation of incumbent Jon Hinson, blacks united behind the Democratic candidate against the Reagan Republican, Liles Williams. The results were astonishing. Williams outspent Dowdy by two-to-one; he began with much greater name recognition; both Ronald Reagan and George Bush campaigned on his behalf; and five past elections had indicated a safe Republican seat. (In 1978, the entirely unknown Hinson had trounced John Stennis, the popular son of the senator.) Yet Dowdy garnered 55,514 votes to Williams' 54,497.

The comparison of black turnout from the June 23 primary to the July 7 general election is particularly instructive. In one black precinct in Jackson, Dowdy got 814 votes to 4 for Williams; in another, 451 votes to 19. In both precincts turnout doubled from the June primary. By comparison, Williams slaughtered Dowdy by 1,097 to 212 votes in one white upper-middle-class precinct, but turnout there was the same as in the primary.

Dowdy himself is no Martin Luther King. In the campaign, he tried to steer a course between Tip O'Neill, whose name symbolizes Yankee profligacy, and the Southern "Boll Weevils" who have identified with Reaganomics. He declared himself a "fiscal conservative," but he also said that Reagan had gone too far in his social spending cuts. By contrast, Williams said he favored budget cuts "even deeper" than Reagan's.

But Dowdy went out of his way to win over two groups often ignored by Missis-

siippi Democrats: labor and blacks. He opposed the denial of food stamps for strikers, and he made his support for the renewal of the voting rights act the central issue of the campaign.

Dowdy's victory puts a different light on the Sunbelt's political demography. It shows that an alternative to the spread of conservative Republicanism among the South's new middle class may be found in a politics that addresses the region's large Hispanic, black and white working-class population. Dowdy's election at best touched upon such a politics, the outlines of which were sketched in the Black Caucus' Alternative Budget of 1981. (*In These Times*, April 22)

There is already recognition in Congress of the importance of Dowdy's victory. Reagan has begun to back away from opposition to the voting rights act. Southern conservative Democrats are beginning to take notice of some of their less wealthy constituents. And one member of Congress, Rep. John Conyers, has used Dowdy's victory to help launch a new political action committee—the Parker-Coltrane PAC (after jazz greats Charlie Parker and John Coltrane).

Conyers' PAC, as explained by its treasurer, Neil Kotler, would focus on Southern congressional districts that contain more than 15 percent blacks. It would support incumbents that are responsive to their black constituents, but seek to defeat those, including Democrats, who have ignored these voters.

Kotler cites the civil rights voting profile that was done by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, based on a representative's votes on a balanced budget, food stamps, fair housing, welfare reform and other measures. Edwards (R-Ala.), Dickinson (R-Ala.), Nichols (D-Ala.), Livingston (R-La.),



Moore (D-La.), Montgomery (D-Miss.), Tribble (R-Va.) and Daniel (R-Va.) all represent districts with 30 to 40 percent black populations, and all earn a flat zero on the conference's civil rights rating.

But there is an even broader lesson to be drawn from Dowdy's victory. In the Republican Party, the New Right strategy for building a conservative majority has been to target those "liberal" or "moderate" Republicans who are out of touch with their own conservative Republican constituencies. It has been willing to help defeat incumbents like New Jersey Sen. Clifford Case or California Sen. Thomas Kuchel, even if it meant a Democrat winning the seat, on the argument that making the party's candidates reflect its actual base would create a vital political force that would eventually win back the seats.

There are Northern as well as Southern Democrats who bear a similar relationship to grassroots Democrats and to traditional Democratic constituencies that Case or Kuchel did to their states' Republicans. Fifteen Northern Democratic senators—Biden, Inouye, Matsunaga, Dixon, Ford, Huddleston, Mitchell, Baucus, Melcher, Zorinsky, Burdick, Jackson, Byrd, Randolph and Proxmire—backed Reagan's budget targets. "Moderate" House Democrats, led by Dan Rostenkowski, have produced a tax bill that is little different from the Reagan bill. While some of these Democrats come from safe districts, others would be vulnerable to grassroots protest. It is time they had to look over their shoulders—not just at the lobbyists from the American Council for Capital Formation—but at the people who elected them.

*Lenders look the other way*

*Deaths and disappearances in these nations may have ebbed simply because the opposition is decimated.*

Early this month the Treasury Department notified Congress that it will instruct its delegates to international development banks to support loans to the governments of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. The Reagan administration's decision overturns a policy in force since 1977 to oppose loans to Chile and abstain from voting on loans to the governments of the other countries because of their abuses of human rights. Reagan's new policy may well be in violation of the 1977 Harkin Amendment passed by Congress to prohibit the U.S. government from supporting loans to governments of countries engaged in "a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights."

Anticipating popular protest, the State Department distributed to the media an eight-page "press guidance" memo in defense of the new policy. It contends that there have been "significant human rights improvements" in the four countries, and states, "If we are to have a human rights policy that encourages further progress, we will have to be willing to recognize the improvements that have occurred." It supports this position with figures that are at best misleading and at worst untrue.

In the case of Chile, the State Department writes, "There have been no disappearances in Chile since 1977," and "almost all political prisoners had been released by early 1978." These statements are contradicted by Amnesty International's 1980 report on human

rights, which declared that there was a "marked deterioration" in Chile's human rights situation during the year. Though it does not document any "disappearances," Amnesty does report the murders of at least four persons by the Chilean secret police. Furthermore, it states, "Between 1,500 and 2,000 people were arrested for political reasons during 1979 and at the beginning of 1980." Rep. Thomas Harkin (D-Iowa), in denouncing the new Reagan policy, recently charged that this year in Chile there has been a "wave of arrests, more than 200."

The State Department's case for the improvement of human rights in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay may be stronger, but the absolute level of abuse remains intolerable. Argentina has yet to explain the disappearances of more than

10,000 people. Uruguay is still known as the country with more political prisoners per capita than any other in Latin America, and Paraguay suffers under the dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner, who has routinely renewed his state-of-seige orders every three months for the last 27 years.

And even if one accepts the State Department's claim that there has been an improvement in human rights in these countries, the change may have less to do with government benevolence than with the degree to which the "disappearances" and the detentions have decimated the political opposition.

On May 28, a Gallup poll asked people in nine Latin American countries to choose two of six U.S. policy options for their region. These included encouraging foreign private investment, helping to combat subversion and terrorism, helping to protect human rights, increasing military assistance, increasing economic assistance, and reducing American involvement in the region. In seven of the nine countries, a majority chose protecting human rights as one of their two top priorities.

Congress should heed public opinion in Latin America as well as the popular support for human rights in this country and pursue efforts already underway—the House Banking Subcommittee on International Development held hearings late this month to determine whether the Reagan administration's action is illegal—to enforce the Harkin Amendment. ■



# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions express in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## THE THORNEY ISSUE

I AM DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED IN AN article published by your newspaper (*ITT*, April 29) about myself, my views on worker safety and health, and the way I intend to administer the Occupational Safety and Health Administration under President Reagan.

Except for the quotations in the first paragraph, the quotes attributed to me in your article are false and spurious and convey an impression of crassness and insensitivity on my part to the serious safety and health problems that exist in some of the nation's workplaces.

The Reagan administration is totally committed to making OSHA successful in protecting worker safety and health. In the few months I have been in office, I have initiated a number of changes within the agency which will eliminate the adversarial spirit that has marred OSHA in the past and made it an object of ridicule. For example, I have directed that pamphlets and training films, which are developed and printed at public expense, should not be biased for or against management or workers, but should provide objective information which will help labor and management identify and eliminate hazards.

Also, this administration is committed to utilizing a careful and sensible approach in the conduct of its regulatory responsibilities. But such an approach does not mean we are placing a dollar value on human life, as the article implies. Rather it means choosing regulatory approaches that protect workers' health without injuring the Nation's economic health. The changes we have made, such as the targeting of inspections on the most hazardous workplaces and greater use of labor-management committees, will ultimately result in an OSHA that is perceived by management and labor as an objective and thoroughly professional public agency.

Criticism is an important element of our nation's governmental process, and satire is a well-established form of literary criticism. A decision to employ satire does not excuse an author from his or her responsibility to the reading public to write in a responsible manner. Publication of satirical articles that convey a false impression that they are factual does a great disservice to the public and does little to further constructive public debate about the serious problem of protecting the safety and health of our nation's most valuable resource—its working men and women—and what the government's role should be in solving it.

—Thomas G. Auchter  
Assistant Secretary of Labor  
for Occupational Safety and Health  
Washington, D.C.

## FAULTY ALGEBRA

KUDOS TO JACKSON, ET AL., FOR "THE Cost-Benefit Swindle" (*ITT*, May 13). It's slowly sinking in that cost-benefit analysis as proposed by the Reagan gang is a trick meant to justify deregulation via pseudo-scientific "proof." What Reagan proposes isn't cost-benefit analysis by any rational definition. Such analysis would require equivalent terms on both sides of the equation. Reagan wants to compare costs to employees with benefits to employees—not the same thing. To do it properly, he would have to compare total social costs with total social benefits. Reagan refus-

es to do this.

It isn't surprising, because when such analyses are done, they usually show environmental consumer protection and workers safety regulations to be beneficial.

To cite one example, the New Jersey Economic Policy Council estimated last year that air pollution regulations in the state may cost as much as \$100 million per year. But in addition to saving 2,000 lives yearly, they produced a total economic benefit to the state of at least \$116 million per year. In short, cleaning the air isn't only physically, psychologically and esthetically beneficial, it's good for the economy.

Reagan-style "cost-benefit analysis" isn't only an imprecise, immoral method that avoids public debate—it's not even cost-benefit analysis.

—Larry Erickson  
Long Branch, N.J.

## IN PROCESS

ASIDE FROM (APPARENTLY) DIS- agreeing with Martha Rosler's view of the effect of color in Susan Meiselas' work, Joe Cuomo fails to engage any of Rosler's ideas in his angry and venomous letter (*ITT*, July 1). Cuomo objects to Rosler's applying serious analysis to photographs which reached him "in the pit of the stomach." Cuomo's anti-intellectual reaction illustrates the need for articles like Rosler's.

I had the opportunity to see the McCullin exhibit on a recent visit to New York. I was also hit in "the pit." I found myself pacing around the empty gallery, weeping at the images of wounded and killed. But I also experienced anger—anger at the non-political (really, anti-political) weakness of the notes in the exhibit. The viewer was required to bring his or her own analysis and even factual knowledge about Cyprus, Biafra and Vietnam along.

Meiselas' images are strong, sometimes hard to look at, but the book does not encourage engagement with the reasons for the FSLN movement or success. Are these two projects therefore valueless? Of course not, and Martha Rosler does not trash them.

I am a practicing photographer trying to make my photography a serious political activity and a contribution to the development of a mass socialist movement. Martha Rosler and other people who are doing similar work in this country and Europe and Latin America don't make my task any easier. They demand a critical self-examination at every stage of one's practice. But it is exactly that sort of demand which I, for one, have missed from the left.

In this context, it would be good to see some serious disagreement with the content of Rosler's analysis—that's part of the process. But to attack the process itself only supports the simple-minded criteria of "usefulness" and "rightness" which ultimately undercut the attempt to build a photographic practice which is political on many levels.

—Steve Cagan  
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

## EXPLOITATION

I MUST COMMENT ON YOUR MENTION of the dispute between the National Association of Broadcast Employees

and Technicians (NABET) and Godmother Productions during the making of *Tell Me a Riddle* (*ITT*, June 17). Despite the fact that "the film united people from different generations of social activism," when it came to basic labor issues, Godmother Productions was not so different from the "accountants, agents and lawyers...in the top positions in film studios" whom the Godmothers claim to reject and against whom film workers have struggled for many years.

NABET approached the Godmothers in an effort to secure basic working conditions for the production crew, while allowing for the low-budget nature of the film. During meetings with the production company, issues as fundamental as payroll, employees (to qualify them for Social Security, disability insurance, unemployment and federal and state withholding) and paying at least minimum wage to all employees (some of whom were referred to as "scum of the earth" by the production manager) had to be raised.

When the Godmothers were asked to negotiate a contract with NABET that clarified these and other terms of employment, even a contract that took into consideration their budget, they responded, "It's too expensive," and they did not "want to be tied down to something legal and binding." This is hardly a step forward from the mentality of the "accountants, agents and lawyers" of the old studio system.

After negotiations broke off, the Godmothers signed an agreement the day before production started with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees for some members of the crew, leaving the so-called "scum of the earth" to fend for themselves. It is for these workers whom NABET fought and it was for these workers that the Department of Labor obliged the Godmothers to pay overtime.

We applaud the dreams and efforts

of the Godmothers and other independent producers to make socially important and relevant films. We condemn, however, the exploitation by any employer, especially those who claim to be "social activists," of the workers necessary to give life to their dreams.

—Charles Rudnick  
President, NABET Local 532  
San Francisco

## CAUSE FOR TEARS

MOSCOW DOES NOT BELIEVE IN Tears is boring, according to your reviewer, Louis Menashe, who teaches Russian History, no less (*ITT*, June 17). Presumably, Menashe knows Russian. So he heard Voznesensky, himself declaiming lines from that most difficult "parabola" poem of his, in that film. That apparently was not boring to the 70 million Russians who saw the picture, one of the greatest box office successes in their history. Nor were they bored to hear young intellectuals at dinner argue over the relative merits of Yevtushenko and Rozhdetsvensky (who most Americans have never heard of, because he is no kind of dissident), or to hear the male lead, a manual worker, explain his point of view by citing the biography of a Roman emperor.

Menashe describes this picture as "a Soviet clone of dozens of American films, past and recent." When has an American film shown a 20-year-long friendship between a factory manager, a counter clerk, and a workingman's wife (all women); a female TV director in 1958; a general picking up his own dry-cleaning; or a union shop steward not ordering or checking off but pleading with a worker to pay her dues?

This film deserves better than to be labelled as "banal" and "schmaltz."

—William M. Mandel  
Berkeley, Calif.

## Citizen Harry Chapin sang for the voiceless

ALL WE GOT TO LIVE FOR is a song I and my wife, Deborah, have been singing the past few months.

Harry and Tom Downey, the two men who founded the World Hunger Year, were the only two men who were ever elected to the House of Representatives in 1976.

On March 1, 1976, Harry Chapin, a man who had been a member of the House of Representatives for 12 years, was elected to the House of Representatives for the 10th time. He was the only man who had been elected to the House of Representatives for 10 consecutive terms.

The New York Times, in its article about Harry Chapin, said that he was "the only man who had been elected to the House of Representatives for 10 consecutive terms." This is a true statement, but it is also a statement that is misleading. Harry Chapin was not elected to the House of Representatives for 10 consecutive terms. He was elected to the House of Representatives for 10 consecutive terms, but he was not elected to the House of Representatives for 10 consecutive terms.

But having been privileged to know Harry and to work with him, I want to offer an assessment not of his career, but of his legacy as a political and social activist. Less than an hour after the news broke, Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.) called from his congressional office to tell World Hunger Year director Marty Rogel that Harry was one of the four or five most important people working on the side of the liberal left nationally. The next morning 25 members of Congress rose to read a resolution in the Congressional record. Rep. Roger and

Mark Green publicly lamented the loss of "Citizen Harry Chapin."

Supporter of countless campaigns and causes, Harry Chapin worked with his seemingly endless supply of adrenalin for the Toby Moffetts, the George McGoverns, the Byron Dorgans, Jim Highmores, Liz Holzmans, Mark Greens and Tom Downeys. An idiosyncratic radical democrat who rejected the socialist label, Harry nevertheless supported DS-OC and its Democratic Agenda project more than anyone else. Of his more than 200 concerns a year half were always benefits. And with Harry, support always meant more than money. He wanted to offer ideas, to get on the phone and tell other people, to work for the cause, the many causes, incessantly.

His chief cause was ending world hunger—not through relief efforts (though he supported those, especially when conducted by groups like Oxfam), but through political action and education. He founded, with Bill Ayres, World Hunger Year to help, as he said, "remove the obstacles to people feeding themselves. We need to redistribute power and wealth to end hunger." Harry worked closely with and generously supported Frances Moore Lappe and Joe Collins when they were working on *Food First*. At the inspiration of his wife, Sandy, Harry Chapin fought for the creation of the Presidential commission on world hunger and served as sort of an ideological guerrilla on it.

A practical, idealistic, nonsocialist American, Harry Chapin lived every day with an overriding goal: that his life make a difference. It did. Jim Grant, executive director of UNICEF, summed it up: "It is terribly sad that so chance an accident has denied the world's most voiceless and powerless people the voice that Harry Chapin raised and the power he marshalled on their behalf."

—Jack Clark



KATE ELLIS

# Patriarchy is not the answer

By Kate Ellis

**I** WANT TO OFFER A NEW WORD for what's happening on the political scene: repatriarchalization. It has the same number of syllables as reindustrialization, but I'll concede right off that it probably won't catch on.

Its root, of course, is patriarchy, the rule of the father. Feminists and anti-feminists agree that this rule is coming untied: losing its material base, as some would put it. There is disagreement among historians about when this untying began and much more disagreement among political people of all sorts about what to do about it. Repatriarchalization is my word for the effort to reimpose the rule of the father.

Purists maintain that patriarchy was dealt a mortal wound by industrialization and the introduction of the wage, with its promise (often not much more than that) of economic independence

*The right thinks that the nation is slack because we gave Mom too much power.*

for the individual earner. Others argue that patriarchy simply changed form in response to a level of economic development that allowed one class of women to withdraw officially from production into the home.

But now this ideology of separate spheres (the world for men, the home for women) has lost much of its official status.

The theory behind repatriarchalization goes like this: we as a nation have become slack, undisciplined, self-indulgent. We have given Mom too much power—Mom who would always sneak a plate of food to the kid who had been



sent to bed without supper. Mom gave unconditionally, and the kids got lazy and uppity. So no one respects Dad anymore, in the world or at home. We need him back in power for the very qualities he does not share with Mom: his willingness to punish, his refusal to give in.

Repatriarchalization has been showing up in more and more legislation, redistributing power so as to give more to the Pentagon, for instance, while curtailing the gains of women. The Human Life Bill elevates the male moment of participation in the reproductive process, and tips the balance of power away from the woman in whose body the fetus becomes viable on its own. Dr. J.C. Wilke, the current president of the National Right-to-Life Committee, is quite clear about this when he accuses his opponents of doing violence to marriage "by helping to remove the right of the husband to protect the life of the child he has fathered in his wife's womb."

## Protecting the homophobic family.

The Laxalt Family Protection Act, first introduced in the last year of the Carter administration, targeted schools and other institutions dealing with the young as bastions of permissiveness that must be brought under the control of "the family." The bill would have denied federal funding to schools and programs which "tend to denigrate, diminish or deny the role differences between the sexes as they have been historically understood in the United States," or which present homosexuality "as an acceptable alternative life-style," or which provide contraception, abortions, or abortion counselling to unmarried minors with-

out informing their parents.

So it's not just any old "family" we're talking about. The family the Laxalt Bill wants to protect is the homophobic family—the one that conforms to, and wants its children to conform to "the differences between the sexes" that make mother subservient to father, and views sex outside of marriage as a sin or a disgrace.

Support for this view of sexuality, and for the family as the appropriate corrective institution, is the basis of the Adolescent Family Life legislation introduced in April of this year by Senators Hatch of Utah and Denton of Alabama. Based on the premise that "adolescent promiscuity is emotionally and morally damaging, can be physically damaging, is counterproductive to the normal maturation process, and results in a high risk of pregnancy," the bill aims "to promote self-discipline and chastity, and other positive, family-centered approaches to the problem of adolescent promiscuity and adolescent pregnancy."

The Hatch and Denton bill would replace a 1978 amendment to the Public Health Service Act, which set up family planning services for adolescents. It would require that those providing these services must "notify the parents of any unemancipated minor requesting necessary services...and obtain the permission of such parents with respect for the provision of such services." In addition, "no recipient of assistance under this title may provide abortion counselling or referral, make any payment for the performance of an abortion, or conduct any research

so early, the structure within which a child experiences its earliest interactions with other people must inevitably have an enormous role to play in the formation of that identity.

So the socialist-feminist quarrel with Denton and Hatch does not say that adolescent sexuality is a private matter into which parents have no business intruding. It is rather with their definition of the family: the place where the father makes into a threat of punishment the bill's stipulation that parents be informed of an adolescent's sexual activity. If the parent could be expected to react supportively to such information, what reason would teenagers have for not voluntarily giving their parents what the state seeks to compel in return for assistance?

One of the aims of repatriarchalization is to define "the family" as the institution that teaches children that sex outside of wedlock "is emotionally and morally damaging," and where transgressions of this law are punished. But the other side of this "positive, family-centered" equation is that the children are obedient. This is the key ingredient of the Denton-Hatch family, and of a repatriarchalized society. For repatriarchalization does not combat atomization. It just keeps atomized individuals in line, giving them as many reasons as possible for fearing every alternative.

## Sexuality and reproduction.

What is our vision, then, and how can we fight for it? I have only a few sketchy suggestions. One is that we have to look more closely at what we have been saying about the relationship between sexuality and reproduction. Feminist writers I have read (Mitchell, Firestone, and their successors) have tended to stress the separation of these two made possible (or at least potentially possible) by birth control technology.

But is the relationship between sexuality and reproduction limited to a fear of pregnancy or its absence? Has our awesome capacity to create life become so totally subsumed by rationality that our ideal now consists in checking out our check books, our living situations, our career prospects, and then "choosing"? The right is onto something when it insists that reproduction strikes much deeper into the primitive layers of our beings.

What is embedded in those primitive layers? The wellspring of our creativity which, as Virginia Woolf has said, stands beneath the divisions of mind into male and female. But the Denton-Hatch "family," whose function is to encapsulate all desire within the boundaries of heterosexual marriage, cannot affirm this primitive part of the self. Gender stratification is the first principle of order in the world their adherents seek to create, and anything which disrupts this order is "emotionally and morally damaging."

If we affirm that the wish for a baby can no more be confined to heterosexual marriage than the wish for sexual pleasure, we then need to take a compassionate look at the context in which such wishes develop, particularly in teenagers. A friend who works in an adolescent family planning program on the Lower East Side tells me that her clients have enormous difficulty imagining their futures. She has them playing roles imagining themselves 10 years hence in order to come to grips with setting goals.

The point is: what is to be gained by chastity if you have nothing to do all day? Telling adolescents that they need to control their fertility, be it by denial or by the responsible use of birth control, makes little sense if they have even less control over the rest of their lives. Watching TV all day is certainly enhanced by having a baby to care for.

So what else are Denton, Hatch and their colleagues doing for adolescents besides advocating chastity, to be rewarded by a special minimum wage? As long as these legislators are getting rid of CETA jobs, public housing, and student loans, their only hope lies in turning the state into a new patriarchy that will be as hard on women as the older varieties, and whose chances of success are about as good.

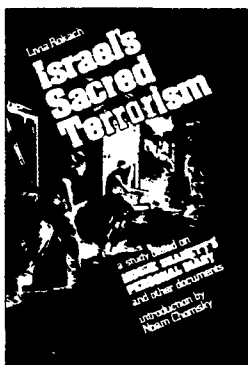


Bills like the Laxalt Family Protection Act try to confine love to heterosexual relationships.

relating to abortion, except that a recipient...may conduct research relating to the negative consequences of abortion."

In the world that I would like to raise kids in and that I would have liked to have grown up in, "positive, family-centered approaches" to sexuality outside of marriage (the Denton and Hatch definition of "promiscuity") would be a real possibility. Feminists realized some time ago that the sexual revolution left male dominance unchallenged.

Only the most dyed-in-the-wool libertarian would argue that unrestrained sexuality would bring about an end to exploitative relationships. As socialists, we believe that consciousness is shaped by institutions within which we must struggle to achieve the world we want. Because the formation of sexual identity begins



## Israel's Pentagon Papers...

## Israel's Sacred Terrorism

"a valuable service... to those who are interested in discovering the real world that lies behind 'official history.'"

—From Noam Chomsky's Introduction

Moshe Sharett, Israel's first foreign minister and prime minister from 1953 to 1955, kept a personal diary—a day-to-day candid record of how key Israeli policy decisions were made. Long kept unpublished, the diary reveals how Israel's "security establishment," men like David Ben-Gurion, Arik Sharon and Moshe Dayan, sought to destabilize neighboring Arab countries through covert military operations and terrorist activity, and plotted the takeover of South Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza. Italian journalist Livia Rokach's thoughtful analysis of the Sharett diary and other key documents shatters longstanding myths about Israel and its security needs. **Israel's Sacred Terrorism** lays bare the political trend in Israel that, in the words of a troubled Moshe Sharett, raises terrorism and "revenge" to a "moral... and even sacred principle."

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STEVE MAX

# Going the way of the dinosaur

By Steve Max

**W**HAT EVER HAPPENED to the dinosaurs? That question has intrigued me since my first visit to the Museum of Natural History, 30 years ago. The most popular explanation seems to be borne out by the bones themselves. You can't expect a body the size of a truck to be governed successfully by a brain the size of a walnut. Yet, something has always troubled me about that view. At one time in their evolutionary history the dinosaurs must have had a better balance between mind and body, otherwise they could not have existed in the first place. Were they once small and reasonably proportioned? Over the centuries, did their bodies grow vast, while their brains, stunted, pro-



ment. They spent a whopping \$44 billion on corporate acquisitions and mergers. This sum could have been reinvested in the very modernization that the President hopes for.

As the merger frenzy continued into 1981, an additional \$17 billion was spent in the first three months alone. The *New York Times* was moved to comment, "Some...question whether this merger boom benefits the economy. They say that funds spent buying existing plants and processes could be better spent building new plants and devising new technologies, thus creating jobs."

At the beginning of July, the press heralded "the largest merger yet," Dupont and Conoco oil. That deal may cost Dupont over \$7 billion, 14 times what it spent on research and development last year.

The question for Reagan and his supply-side buddies is what makes them think that putting money in corporate hands will lead to expansion and new technology instead of more mergers?

It is true that greater depreciation tax breaks on new plants and equipment will produce some results, but if the capital shortage is a phony to begin with, then what the new tax breaks amount to is bribing the corporations to use their surplus money to modernize. This is a far cry from giving money to poor companies that don't have any, though that is how it is being sold to the public.

Wait a minute! What happened to good old Yankee ingenuity? Aren't we supposed to be on top of every new technological breakthrough? Not any more. Apparently, mergers are leading to a dangerous restructuring of corporate management. What it amounts to is that the body is getting bigger while the brain stays the size of a walnut.

In the March 8 *New York Times* Mag-

azine, Douglas Bauer explains that in the emerging conglomerate order, boards of directors preside over growing empires of formerly independent companies. A board will base its judgment of the executives under it on quarterly profit performance and executives who don't show rising profits get dumped. In fact, says Bauer, the rate of firings of chief operating officers has doubled in recent years and their salaries are increasingly tied to bonuses based on profit performance.

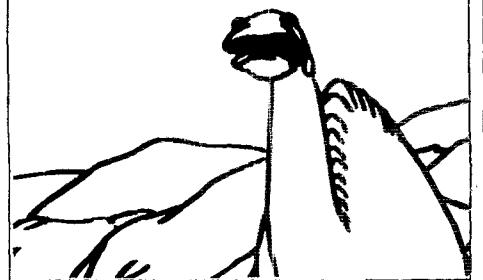
How does an executive keep boosting profits when the economy is stagnant? Easy, stop research and development and put the money into profits. Stop expansion of markets and put the money into profits. Stop investing in new plant and equipment and put the money into profits. If that doesn't do the trick then buy up a company with better profits. Forget about long-term planning, it will only benefit the person who gets your job after you are fired for not producing profits. "We all know people all over this town," said an executive recruiter in New York, "who are running their companies into the ground and leaving them a shell."

*Business Week* echoes the same theme, calling for a "new breed of executive" for the 1980s. "He must respect the bottom line, yet not be hypnotized by it into sacrificing the company's long-term future by skimping on expansion and maintenance," Bauer concludes, "American management lacks the very skills for the kind of fundamental improvements upon which the Reagan administration has based its hope for a full-scale revitalization of American industry."

Sobering, but skill isn't really the problem. The purpose of the corporation, after all, is to make profits. Products are only one means to that end. If there are shorter faster roads to profits, skilled management will take them. Corporate merger is one such road and it also serves the function of keeping a company's cash out of the hands of the shareholders. Other roads include creating phony shortages and then raising prices, demanding

bribes in the form of tax cuts, winning defense contracts, voiding health and safety standards and moving production abroad. In fact, anything is better than hiring a worker to produce a product, because you then have to figure out how to sell the product on today's sluggish market. That would be positively old fashioned.

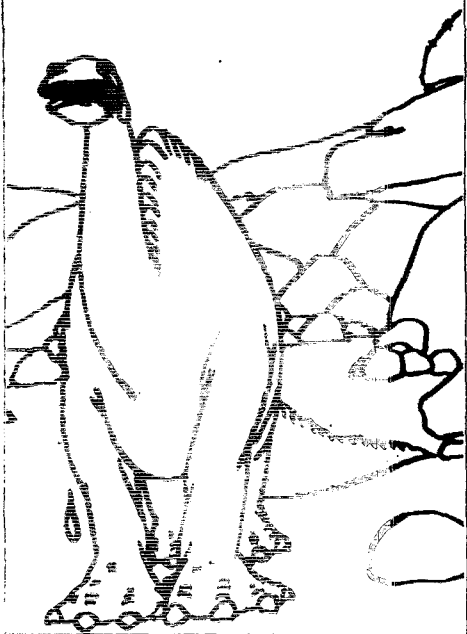
*The Reagan tax program aims to modernize industry, but it will only spur the current merger frenzy.*



In the sectors of traditional manufacturing and basic industry, profit through politics rather than through production seems to be the logic of supply side economics. Reagan's program will bring a rude awakening to the millions in his middle-class base who believe that reindustrialization means full employment and a higher living standard.

Big body, small brain—a major sector of the economy lumbers toward extinction.

Steve Max is on the staff of the Midwest Academy, and is co-chair of West Side Citizen Action, a chapter of the NYPIRG Citizens Alliance.



duced such inappropriate thoughts as "Where can I catch a mouse?"

Strange are the ways of nature, but stranger still are some seemingly parallel developments in the corporate world. Reagan's tax cuts, designed to modernize industry with cash for expansion and development, may actually speed the already dizzy rate of corporate mergers, creating huge super companies mismanaged by men with brains the size of walnuts.

One of the big lies behind the Reagan tax program is that American corporations are starved for cash and unable to invest in new technology to make themselves more competitive. The administration tax plan, now being debated in Congress, aims at giving business about \$34 billion a year in extra cash.

Sure business wants that money, but how much do they really need it? Back in 1978, *Business Week* reported, "The nation's biggest corporations are sitting on a record \$80 billion pile of ready cash that could finance a grand boom in capital spending.... Investment remains sluggish and top corporate executives concede...that tax measures aimed at generating more cash as a way to stimulate investment would probably not do the trick."

Just what did happen to that "pile of ready cash"? In 1980, more than 700 of the largest companies spent a total of only \$28 billion on research and develop-

## TWO 'TERRORISTS' MEET



STEVE PSINAKIS

## WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS IN THE PHILIPPINES?

"...recounts the delicate negotiations that preceded

President Marcos' lifting of martial law last January ... (Imelda Marcos) confided to Psinakis that Reagan 'practically told me not to lift martial law yet'."

*The Nation*—May 2, 1981

"I never talked about these things. Psinakis is apparently concocting, fabricating all kinds of facts."

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## IN PRINT

## HISTORY

# Temperance, a feminist issue

**The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America**

By Barbara Leslie Epstein  
Wesleyan University Press, 188 pp., \$17.95.

By Mari Jo Buhle

How did the separation of women's and men's spheres in the early 19th century, especially the emergence of female domesticity, foster—or, some would say, limit—the organized woman's movement? This question has already spurred a heated exchange among historians (*Feminist Studies*, Spring 1980), and promises to engage even more practitioners at a major conference scheduled for late October at SUNY-Binghamton. Epstein has made this question the focus of her timely new book.

The industrial revolution sharpened the division of labor between the sexes by separating home from workplace and by creating for middle-class women a newly domestic role. Epstein interprets this process as a decline in women's status, as a severe injury to the parity women enjoyed previously in the agricultural economy of the colonial economy. Domesticity, Epstein claims, signaled women's greater dependence upon men. The culture of domesticity, with its special emphasis on motherhood and female subservience, involved a fateful shift in the balance of power between men and women. Conflict between the sexes thus shaped the domestically-defined popular women's culture, which spread rapidly



and became the major source of proto-feminist consciousness.

This sexual antagonism, Epstein explains, was played out in the arena where women could exert influence. For this reason, *The Politics of Domesticity* is a study of women's role in the great religious events of the era, beginning with the Great Awakening of 1740-1744 when women attained their first major part in a mass democratic movement against deference. In the early decades of the 19th century

women found the widespread religious revivals a special means to challenge male authority and to explore issues relevant to their own lives. Equally important, religious activism helped to cement informal networks and to encourage women's mobilization in the public (male) sphere.

Several decades later this activism, still maintaining its evangelical fervor, adapted to secular forms. The notorious Woman's Crusade against the demon rum in 1873-74 fostered a

political challenge to male hegemony and soon consolidated itself in the grandest women's organization of the 19th century, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The true purpose of the WCTU, in Epstein's opinion, was to restore the balance of power in the family lost since the pre-industrial era. Thus its great leader, Frances Willard, who managed to avoid the controversial rhetoric of feminism, outlined a "feminine version of social or-

der, a vision that was critical of industrial capitalism and had much in common with utopian socialism." Defending the family against disruption, endorsing a strict moral code for men as well as for women, and insisting upon women's right to vote, the WCTU in the 1880s became a mass movement promoting women's interests.

This insightful and important interpretation of the WCTU stands as a major achievement. Epstein is precise in her analysis. She graphically describes the Protestant Anglo-Saxon biases of popular women's culture and acknowledges its increasing distance from the immigrant working class of the late 19th century. So, too its protofeminism, which was limited by the restrictive Victorian precepts of sexual morality.

Some may be uncomfortable with Epstein's soft spot for Puritanism, which comes dangerously close to—despite her disclaimers—Ann Douglas' blithe romanticism about the patriarchal world we have lost. But the overall elegance of Epstein's argument places *The Politics of Domesticity* among the front-runners in the new scholarship of women's history.

Casual readers may find her book too specialized and erudite. Epstein tries, in a brief concluding passage, to suggest its relevance to contemporary politics. She reminds her readers that domestic values continue to appeal to large sectors of the working class. Especially when challenged by right-wing movements, feminists therefore need to sharpen their critique of private life begun in the '60s and to build a constructive program. As the WCTU found its source of power in the concern for women's position in the family, so, too Epstein affirms, might feminists of our generation. ■

Mari Jo Buhle is the author of *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920*, which will appear in the fall.



## POLITICS

# From "me too" to "civism"

**Radical Principles: Reflections of an Unreconstructed Democrat**  
By Michael Walzer.  
Basic Books, 310 pp., \$15.

By Richard Krouse

These essays written over the last 15 years embody a democratic socialist perspective and program.

One of the more intriguing features of this book is a subtle change over time in Walzer's perspective. In an earlier essay now entitled "Dissatisfaction in the Welfare State" (written in 1968 and not, as the book erroneously records, 1980), Walzer presents the democratic welfare/regulatory state as the logical completion of the "liberal utilitarianism" of Hobbes, Locke and Bentham. Its task is the equalization of security and welfare for egoistic and atomistic individuals. Political life is purely a means to this end, the instru-

ment of private desire.

The liberal-democratic welfare/regulatory state, is a flawed but genuine agency of redistributive justice. But it inflates the power of the centralized state, without restructuring the power and authority relationships of everyday life. Equal power, participation, and community in polity, society, economy—these, Walzer argues, are the distinctive and defining aspirations of democrats and socialists. And these aspirations can and will be realized only "beyond the welfare state."

"First grub, then ethics," he argues—first equal welfare and security, then (and only then) equal participation and community. The welfare state is an incompletely realized aspiration, but one day it will be realized for all.

This view Walzer now feels compelled to modify. "I once thought that the success of the planning state and welfare state

did not require any challenge to the philosophy of *me too*. Planning and welfare were simple the rational instruments of individual desire, and all that was necessary was to make sure that every individual's desires were counted." But this view rested upon the increasingly implausible presupposition of an "indefinitely expandable economy."

Walzer now affirms the vital dependence of the planning and welfare state upon sentiments of common solidarity that transcend the liberal philosophy (individual or collective) or "me too." The voluntary self-restraint of people will come increasingly to depend upon "civism"—new patterns of social cooperation, and a deeper equality in political and economic life. (With fewer profits to share, participation and power may have to substitute.)

### Shaky loyalty.

Toward currently fashionable talk of a "legitimation crisis" in the liberal-democratic welfare state, Walzer is skeptical, stressing the loyalty engendered by its not inconsiderable achievements. But Walzer demonstrates that the liberal state and capitalist society deplete their own, highly precarious, fund of legitimacy. The very successes of liberal and capitalist ideology and society work, acid-like, to erode

the civic and communal ties on which they depend, and do so in their advanced forms at an accelerating rate. Of course we may seek to reduce or eliminate this deficit through calls for the restoration of hierarchical authority, combined with fiscal (and wage and labor) discipline—in a word, the Thatcher-cum-Reagan program. But this runs too deeply against the grain of our liberal and egalitarian society and culture. Better, Walzer argues (in the spirit of Tocqueville and

must reserve space for private (nonparticipating) selves. But while Walzer affirms these liberal *bona fides*, he wishes also to preserve a realm of traditional values—"individual responsibility," "mutual respect," "hard work," "craftsmanship," "loyalty"—from the corrosive consequences of a corrupt liberalism. "Socialism," he writes, "is the effort to sustain older values within a social structure that accommodates liberated, that is, free and equal individuals."

*The very successes of liberal society erode the communal ties that it depends on.*

John Stuart Mill), to cultivate patriotism and public spirit (again) through democratic "civism"—deeper equality and participation in polity, economy, society.

This emphasis on equal participation and community as conditions of solidarity and self-restraint carries over into Walzer's vision of socialism. The problem with socialism, according to Oscar Wilde, is that it would take too many evenings. Walzer takes this lesson to heart. Even the most virtuous and participatory society, he argues,

Walzer's vision of a democratic socialism is still programmatically thin. The state will not wither away; it must instead be "hollowed out"—political (and economic) power deconcentrated, dispersed, decentralized as it is democratized. So far, so good. But how large will the units be? How will they interact? What role for the market? On these issues, economic ones in particular, one would like to hear more. ■

Richard Krouse is a political scientist at Williams College.



## FICTION

# Testing the strength of the black cultural bond

*Tar Baby*  
By Toni Morrison  
Knopf, 306 pp., \$11.95

By Barbara Christian

In Toni Morrison's *Tar Baby* the urban Jadine screams at Son, her unrequited black lover, "I was learning how to make it in this world. The one we live in, not the one in your head. Not that dump Eloë, this world. And the truth is I could not have done that without the help and care of some poor old white dude who thought I had brains enough to learn something."

Son retorts, "You do exactly what bitches have always done: take care of white folks' children.... You turn little black babies into little white ones; you turn your black brothers into white brothers; you turn your men into white men...." He punctuates his accusation by reciting the black folk tale *Tar Baby*. Morrison's fourth novel turns on this folk tale, a story that embodies the continuing dilemma of Afro-Americans.

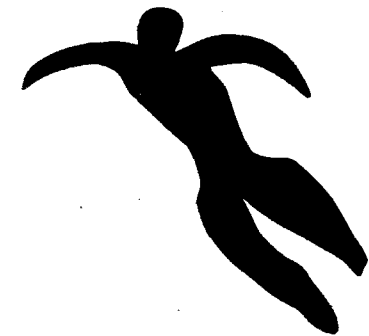
In the folk tale, a farmer tries to catch a rabbit, whom he sees as a thief, by making a tar baby, black, visually attracting, sticky, and placing it in the middle of his cabbage patch. Morrison extends it to a contemporary fable as she analyzes the complexities of class, race and sex as they affect Afro-Americans.

The farmer is Valerian Street, owner of a candy empire, products as attractive and sticky as tar. The aging candy emperor retires to a Caribbean island, Isle de le Chevalier, whose people had produced the sugar and cocoa from which the candy was made, and who are left with neither cocoa and sugar nor money. Valerian's only concern is his greenhouse, "a place of controlled, ever-flowering life to greet death in" on this tropical land of uncontrolled and overwhelming growth. Named after a Roman emperor, Valerian bestows his name on a red and white candy, which is neither profitable nor tasty. He brings with him his much younger wife, Margaret, whose red hair and



white skin closely resemble his name-sake candy, but who is a child of ethnic lower-class parents. Her claims to any worth are her beauty, now fading, and Michael, the over-absent son she has borne his majestic candy king.

Valerian also brings with him his two trustworthy black servants of many years, Sydney and Ondine. Their entire lives are spent ministering to his and Margaret's needs in exchange for which they have steady jobs, a



An illustration appearing on the book jacket of *TAR BABY*.

relatively unhassled existence and the opportunity, through him, to educate and spoil their orphaned niece, Jadine. Because of their industriousness, they label themselves Philadelphia Negroes and they see themselves as a cut above their slovenly brethren. In actuality, they are cut off from any community. They in turn are ministered to by two black natives of the island, Gideon (Yardman) and Therese, whose humanity Ondine and Sydney do not even acknowledge so much as to ask their names. As we meet the house servants, they seem to be in control of Valerian and his house, though finally, they are controlled by his whims.

Jadine resembles an Afro-American princess. Beautiful, bright, educated, ambitious, she discusses perfumes with Margaret, exchanging witticisms and eats meals with Valerian, while her aunt and uncle serve dinner and make the beds. Assisted by Valerian, she has completed a degree in Art History at the Sorbonne, has been a successful model in Paris and is being wooed by a wealthy Parisian who has proposed marriage. Her major concern is "making it," being comfortable and happy. She is lulled into dream until she is awakened one day in Paris by the sight of an authentically beautiful African woman with skin like tar against a canary yellow dress, who invalidates the marvellously successful Jadine by spitting at her. The woman haunts Jadine, make her feel "lonely and inauthentic." She flees Paris to recuperate in the bosom of her relatives.

Into this clean, cool and civilized cabbage patch comes Son, the rabbit, the thief, the swamp nigger. A man with many different names and social security numbers, he belongs to that company of men identified by their "refusal to equate work with life and an inability to stay anywhere for long." Born and raised in Eloë, a black village in Florida, but on the run for the accidental but enraged killing of his unfaithful wife, he has roamed, starved and thought about life. When he steals into Valerian's house like a refugee, he lives a nighttime existence, unknown to anyone as he falls in love with the sleeping Jadine, "his appetite for her so gargantuan, it lost focus and spread to his eyes, the curtains, the moonlight."

## Lush and menacing.

In keeping with Morrison's other three novels, *The Bluest Eye*, *Sula* and *Song of Solomon*, nature is as complex and important a character as the human beings

who live in it. Much of the novel takes place in Isle de le Chevalier, the sight of which 300 years before struck slaves blind the moment they saw it. According to the natives of Dominique, some of these blind ones were carried by the "water-lady" current to the Isle where they ride their horses and screw the swamp ladies. Their descendants do not see with their eyes but with the eye of the mind and therefore cannot be trusted. The Isle de Chevalier is a land human beings have tried to control, evicting the river from where it had lived, forcing the champion daisy trees to alter their growth. Here the emperor butterflies talk and the swamp whispers with the voices of women. Nature is both lush and menacing, resisting the candy king's greenhouse by sending troops of soldier ants to invade it, pulling the slick Jadine into quicksand after a picnic on the beach.

When Son emerges from the lady-water, Therese thinks he is one of the mythical horsemen who has come to take the lovely but errant Jadine away. Like a field slave who invades the Big House, Son's presence exposes the illusions of the relationships

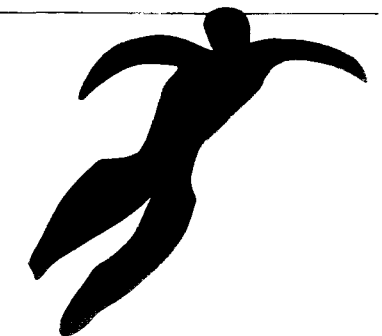
only those in power can afford. He was guilty of innocence; "he had not taken the trouble to know."

## Clash of values.

The critical conflict in the novel is between the values of the individualistic and materialistic Jadine and the roots-bound Son. These two respond to something deep inside each other. As Therese the myth-teller said, Son had come for Jadine. But Jadine goes for herself even if it means using what whites give her. She sees New York as a black woman's town where the manifesto is "Talk Shit, Take None." In contrast, Son sees New York as a place where "the black girls were crying" and where "the street was choked with beautiful males who had found the whole business of being black and men at the same time too difficult and so they dumped it." He loves Eloë, his black village where there is hardly electricity but much fraternity.

For Jadine, Eloë restricts her as a person and a woman. Her dreams there become nightmares filled with women—her mother, Ondine, the African woman in yellow—who upbraids her and make her feel obscene. For her, in Eloë, "there was maybe a past but definitely no future." What Jadine wants Son to do is to get a job, use his talents, make some money. These things Son will not do for he feels that the world excludes him as himself.

But just as Jadine knows her way only too well, Son knows no



intact, her conclusion being "she was the safety she longed for." Too late, Son follows her back to the Isle after deciding that his opinion of Eloë was incorrect. But Therese, the myth-teller, will not let him succumb to the tar baby. She takes him to the back of the Isle where the horsemen still hide, blind and seeing.

As he steps gingerly into those mists of myth we are still left with the dilemma of *Tar Baby*, for Son moves to another world that has little impact on this one and Jadine cops out to a world of values that eventually must be a dead end, if not for her, most decidedly for her own. Finally, both their solutions for this group dilemma are individual.

Besides the artificial facileness of the novel, what is disturbing about it is Morrison's insistence that stereotypes that were not true 100 years ago have now become reality. The myth that house slaves traditionally separated themselves from field slaves is not supported by historical evidence. Instead, both groups usually saw themselves as bound to each other by their race, culture and oppression. Morrison



Toni Morrison's fourth novel turns on the tar baby folk tale.

which Valerian, Margaret, Sydney, Ondine and especially Jadine have woven. His appearance of wild blackness exposes Sydney and Ondine's short-sighted classist hypocrisy as the servants jump to protect their master Valerian from one of their own. His resistance to Valerian's authority—by insisting on the bond he believes must exist between Gideon and Therese and Sydney and Ondine—finally leads to Ondine's exposure of Margaret's secret: in hatred for her husband she habitually abused her baby son. This revelation in turn exposes Valerian's great crime, one

other way but one that is built on alienation and running. The critical question that Morrison asks in this novel is whether or not there is a functional black culture in the West, a contemporary black community. Or are blacks either upwardly mobile or not, with color merely a camouflage? Does race in America operate as a communal bond or is it merely an indication of a shared history?

Jadine and Son finally do not mesh. She flees back to the Isle where she refuses to cherish even her aunt and uncle, and finally takes off for Paris, her makeup

also uses erroneous stereotypes by characterizing the house slave as female and the field slave as male.

Yet if Morrison's perceptions are correct, the devastating effects of Western values on blacks in this century may mean that we are worse off than we were 100 years ago. ■

Barbara Christian, who heads the Afro-American Studies program at University of California, Berkeley, has recently published *Black Women Novelists: the Development of a Tradition, 1892-1976*.



## KIDS

# Socking it to the cartoon movie matinee

By Charles Sugnet

First it was *Superman*, then *Popeye*, then *Excalibur*. Now my kids are pestering me to take them to *The Lone Ranger*, and pretty soon it'll be *Raiders of the Lost Ark* and *Superman II*. My friends say I'm just an old grouch, but I dread each of the highly promoted cartoon remakes I know my children will want to see.

There's more to my objection than personal dislike. I think these movies teach little girls to be passive, valuable objects men fight over or rescue. They teach little boys to make themselves rigid, relying on the thrust of phallic weapons like the sword *Excalibur* or the similarly shaped magic flashlights of *Star Wars*.

After my five-year-old son saw *Star Wars*, he announced that he wanted to be a storm trooper when he grew up. After I explained about the Third Reich and why I didn't like storm troopers, he decided not to be one. But he still finds their plastic armor and face masks "cool" and is taken with the whole fantasy of invulnerability.

Children are small and vulnerable, so I suppose they've always fantasized about being large and invulnerable. Just behind the fantasy of wearing armor is the fantasy of being armor. Clark Kent, the bespectacled wimp,

gets Lois Lane's attention by making himself hard all over and flying through the air. Popeye's forearms swell up and bulge when he's getting powerful. And David Banner, the Incredible Hulk, has a tumescent chest, which swells up and bursts his shirt when he feels aggressive. (One small child I know asked her parents the logical question: why don't his pants swell up too?)

There's nothing new about the identification of masculinity with hardness and erectness, and males in this culture have always been fascinated with phallic weapons like swords, guns and missiles. The swordfighting servants in *Romeo and Juliet* were making double entendres about their "naked weapons" nearly 400 years ago. In the same play, the Friar tells Romeo to prove his manhood by rising and standing. Etymology shows our culture's equations of sex with violence—"vagina" is, in Latin, sheath or scabbard, and "fuck" derives from a Germanic verb "to strike."

The current wave of space war movies and cartoon remakes doesn't add much to the basic content of these old patterns, but does make them more objectionable than ever. This is partly because feminism and the various peace movements of our era should have taught us better, and partly because large production budgets give the old



*Of course children like to dream about being large and invulnerable. But can we indulge them like this?*

fantasies a technoerotic glamour that comic books and TV episodes couldn't achieve. Never has turning yourself into a fighting machine, or a clam with a gorgeous plastic shell, seemed so attractive.

The attraction extends outside the movie house. At a day care center where I sometimes work, nearly half the kids have some kind of superhero plastered on their T-shirts. You can get Superman sneakers, *Star Wars* pajamas, thermal underwear with the Incredible Hulk on them, and "underoos," jockey-

type briefs for kids, with a choice of heroes. As one woman who teaches at the day care center said, "If it weren't for Wonder Woman, we'd be out of it completely."

## No joke.

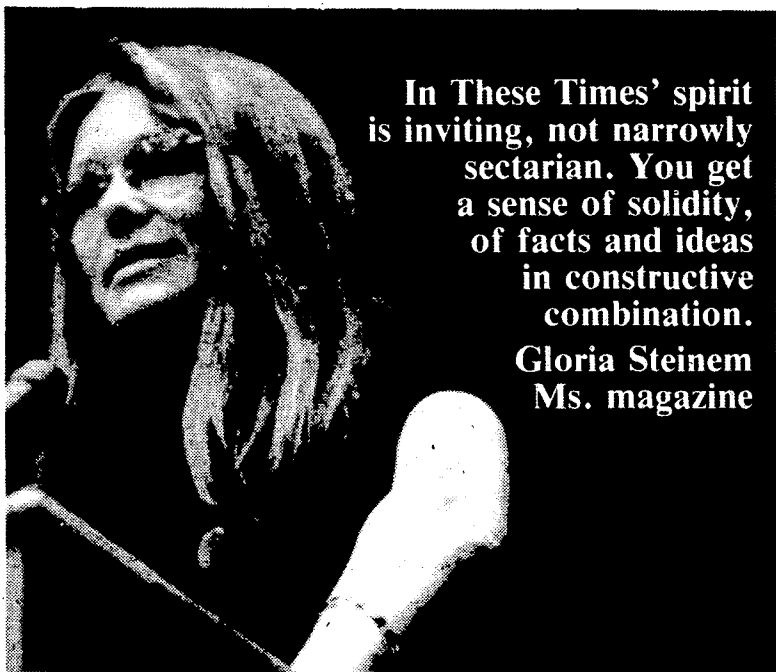
My friends tell me I take these movies too seriously, that they're just camp, funny send-ups. There's no doubt that film can do that sort of thing—I think Stanley Kubrick did it beautifully at the end of *Dr. Strangelove* when he had Slim Pickens whoop, holler, and

wave his cowboy hat as he fell from the bomb bay of a B-52 and rode a nuclear weapon down to the biggest orgasm of all. And some adult viewers of *Star Wars* may be laughing at a Freudian joke while Luke Skywalker flies down a narrow passage in the death star to drop his bomb precisely into the small opening where it will cause an explosion. But the kids aren't laughing at that moment—they're learning about love and war. They'll grow up to resemble the men who write letters to the editor of *Penthouse* about "shooting my wad," or "exploding in her." They'll grow up to imitate Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter's maniacal security adviser, who kept a plastic statue of Darth Vader on his desk in between two pointed intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The planet can't stand another generation of such warriors. If the bomb is dropped, it isn't going to go "Sock!" or "Pow!" And even if we manage to avoid having another war, it's painful to see the kids' erotic energy being channelled in ways that limit their human potential so drastically.

So why am I letting my children see these movies at all? I don't believe in censorship, and I don't think you can isolate your kids from the dominant culture—prohibiting something only makes it more attractive. So I let my children be exposed to the new mythology. But I also take them to films like Chaplin's *Modern Times* (which they loved) and Renoir's *Grand Illusion* (which they intuitively understood, in spite of linguistic and historical obstacles). And I keep trying to show and tell them that to be a creature of flesh and bone is to be vulnerable, and not all the armor, or spinach or rockets in the world can change that.

*Charles Sugnet teaches English at the University of Minnesota.*



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# Riots

Continued from page 24

to nationalist groups, but not to socialist ones. The model of political organization built on the workplace, on shopfloor solidarity, means little to people who have never been in a workplace, don't have bosses and are excluded from trade unions. Unemployment is not experienced as a struggle for work but as a struggle for independence in which the state and the police in particular exercise power. For the young unemployed, leisure time activities are not just breaks from work but the site of a power struggle.

Commentators assume that everyone out of work is miserable but the question posed by Britain's riots, and by some of the riots in Zurich, Berlin and Amsterdam over the last year is whether such misery must be passive. The young are less tied to the family than the adult unemployed and they have more fluid relationship to the economy. As hustlers surviving in the interstices of the declining state they confront not despair but cruelly niggling authority.

The common strand uniting all the riots was youth, but youth is a social category, the effect of young people's special treatment by employers and governments. In Britain, youth unemployment is a new phenomenon. It has been a problem of any sort only since 1972, and today's teenagers are the first generation not to leave school, go to work, and grow up quite smoothly (their parents were the affluent, rock 'n roll teenagers of the '50s).

The most striking thing about inner-city areas such as Brixton and Toxteth is that they are not ghettos but communities made up of all sorts of people on the fringes of the social system. Decaying housing is cheap housing, dead factories can be occupied, cheap shop space is available for coops, communes and political groups. Both Brixton and Toxteth are inhabited by whites as well as blacks, by students, ex-students and bohemians; by Trotskyists and militants, by single parents, women's groups and gays. The resulting communities are places of pleasure as well as despair.

British economists now assume that no matter who decides economic policy, Britain will soon have one million unemployed youths in 1990. The polit-

ical fight prefigured by the riots is not for work, but for space—space to live, space to play, space (if we're all very lucky) to put together new race, sex and class relations. Commentators have belatedly been listening to old records—finding the despair of youth in punk, the violence of oi, the bitterness in reggae. What they have missed is the fun and defiance, the way black and white groups like the Beat and UB40, inner-city intellectuals like the Fall and the Au Pairs, have turned attention into a dance floor drive.

After the Asian killings in Coventry, the Specials organized a daylong protest concert, with grudging support from the local council and the police. In the wake of National Front threats only 2,000 people came. They were young, tense, friendly and defiant. Coventry youth was on display on a damp evening, the stadium ringed by policemen. The Specials played intensely. "This town is becoming like a ghost town," they sang. And for a moment the demons were exorcised.

*Simon Frith teaches sociology at the University of Warwick and writes on popular music. This article first appeared in different form in the Village Voice.*



## THEATER



Ronny Davis

## Off-Broadway leftism

By Michael Gallantz  
and Hal Gelb

In 1978 R.G. (Ronny) Davis, founder of the San Francisco Mime Troupe and its leader during the '60s, left the familiar waters of San Francisco Bay for New York and the tricky currents of the theatrical mainstream.

For two decades he had been a moving force in Bay Area left theater. In 1959 the R.G. Davis Mime Studio and Troupe began putting on semi-improvised avant-garde "Events" in whatever San Francisco venue would host them. In 1963 the group changed its name to the San Francisco Mime Troupe; by then it was developing a new style, *commedia dell'arte* performed outdoors in the parks. Ronny Davis and company liked this 16th-century Italian street theater for its working-class viewpoint, its explosion of the conventions of the proscenium arch, its non-naturalistic acting style and, undoubtedly, for its outrageous comedy. The upheavals of the '60s increasingly politicized the content of the Mime Troupe's *commedia*. By 1965 the Troupe called itself "guerrilla theater."

In 1970 Davis and Troupe parted company. Davis thought that radical theater was stuck in a self-congratulatory rut. His search took him to Germany and Brecht's Berliner Ensemble. What he learned from the Ensemble led Davis to found Berkeley's Epic West, a center for the

study and production of Brechtian theater. Yet Epic West fell victim to the capitalist economy rather than vice versa, and so began the peregrinations that brought Davis to his latest project, last December's Off-Broadway opening of his own translation of Italian Marxist Dario Fo's *We Won't Pay! We Won't Pay!*, a comedy about the possibility of collective shoplifting as one response to inflation.

**Why did you want to move towards the middle of the stream?**  
The more I looked at alternative theater from 1970 to 1975, the more I thought it was peripheral to both commercial life and artistic life. It was not grappling with the larger issues.

**Why had you left the Mime Troupe?**

We were up against a political/economic onslaught. In the last days we couldn't get any bookings in California.

But also we had an organizational problem. Sandy Archer and I were ultimately responsible for everything, even though there was an organization of five people who were supposed to make the decisions. So I came in one day with a program which said, let us share the responsibility. But if you're not responsible, if I'm responsible for all the debts and the operation of the company, and I'm the hatchet man, then I'm in charge.

I didn't know what the next step was. Were we going to become agitprop, which I was not in favor of? I did not want to become an arm of the Black Pan-

ther Party. I didn't particularly think Eldridge Cleaver was the leadership of the world, and I didn't believe that I was guilty for all the racism in the United States. In addition, we had gotten trapped in this Maoist rap, which became more revolutionary than thou.

The only way for me to figure out where I stood in it, because I was over my head in it, was to get out of it.

**What do you think of the post-R.G. Davis Mime Troupe?**

What is interesting to me is that no matter what the organization—a collective, interracial collective, women running it, men running it, what I did, what they did—economically the structure is pretty much the same. It's still a small company.

**Does it seem more Old Left than New Left?**

The politics and the aesthetic.

The analysis of the situation in *Hotel Universe* was simplified to be encouraging and wonderful.

So it is a liberal or Old Left position.

*Rather than simply encourage an audience, you wanted to stimulate their critical faculties, and rather than directly advocate a position, you wanted to provide yourself and the audience a way of clarifying and changing your and their points of view.*

That's why I went to Fo.

The theater of Bertolt Brecht and of Fo is whole theater; it engages people completely. Williams and the boring modern American playwrights have a half theater that only engages emotional and personal life. This is insane because when real people talk, they talk about what's in the newspapers.

**Luis Valdez, founding director of Teatro Campesino, also took a play to New York.**

In 1978 I started to study this, because *Zoot Suit* going to Broadway was the path I was looking for. But at the same time I suspected that there were all sorts of failings we would discover as Luis Valdez took his little trek.

Of course, I would, once knowing these problems, avoid all of them. Which I have not.

**Why was Valdez so successful in L.A. and not in New York?**

I think he was successful in Los Angeles because the audience was very Chicano. So when the *pachuco* slid out with his zoot suit and long hat and big knife, everybody in the audience went, "Oh, that's cool." In New York City 90 percent of the audience looked at him like he had just come out of Saks Fifth Avenue, because women were wearing that costume in New York at that time.

Every step of the way, from the workshop production to the Mark Taper Forum to the Aquarius Theater in Hollywood to Broadway, Valdez lost what he actually had a handle on, which is the authenticity of Chicano life.

**You also had trouble in New York.**

In the commercial structure, everybody is suspicious of everybody else. My 33-year-old producer, who is a member of the Communist Party and not my enemy—I find myself running down the streets and thinking about how to kill this guy. I finally say, "You know, I wake up at night and I wanna yell at you," and he says, "You know, I do the same thing, I wanna kill ya." I say, "What is this, traditional producer-director relationship?"

The *True West* story is wonderful. Woody [Robert Woodruff, the director] says it's artistically not good enough for him, and so he asks Sam [Shepard, the playwright] to close it. Joe Papp [the producer at New York's Public Theater] says, "You can't close it. I own it."

Sam couldn't stop the play, even though Woody had told him to stop the play. Joe Papp didn't care about what Sam thought or what Woody thought.

Every element is mobile. Every element is contracted separately. I contract with the producer, the producer contracts with the actors, somebody hires the stage manager. This actress in our production, her notion of performing was not for the audience or the playwright or the director or the producer, but to get reviews in order to get another job. Everybody's trying to get another job, somewhere else. In those conditions, there's no solidarity.

New York City is like being in the emergency ward of a hospital and saying that's what medicine is about.

**Do you plan to keep working in that market?**

I think it's possible to work in that market, but I think you have to understand the market very well, and you have to come in with your own team—co-dir-

*"Alternative theater like the Mime Troupe was peripheral both to politics and to art."*

ectors, dramaturge, a designer and a stage manager—and not let all of the elements be so flexible.

**Let's talk about the avant-garde. Why performance pieces at this time? Mabou Mines' PRELUDE TO A DEATH IN VENICE has a kind of Kafkaesque, totalitarian atmosphere about it.**

I think fractured reality's been Lee Breuer's notion all along. You say life is fractured, instead of using political analysis to piece it together in an explanation. That aesthetic—aestheticizing politics and aestheticizing intensity—generally leads towards fascism and/or depoliticization.

In New York City Lee Breuer and Mabou Mines are very progressive. Certainly, the economic organization of the company is progressive in comparison to the commercial organizations.

But it's connected to the commercial life. In the petit-bourgeois theater of Broadway, you eliminate political issues, and you say everything is psychological. In the aesthetic avant-garde, you see everything as an aesthetic problem.

**What issues should plays confront at the moment?**

Survival under conditions in which they're trying to poison you. And the case against producing goods and exploiting people to improve the quality of life when all you get is a watch, a car and a bicycle, and you really don't have any work that you want to do.

Michael Gallantz writes about film and theater for San Francisco's *Artbeat* magazine. Hal Gelb is a stage director and *Artbeat* theater editor.

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander









This disbelief is going to grow as U.S. officials shift the ground of their argument, apparently to avoid being cornered into bargaining the Pershings against the SS20s. The *Tribune* reported that U.S. officials thought European governments were raising "unrealistic expectations" by stressing the possibility of arms control. "For example, Mr. Schmidt, in public, refuses to rule out the so-called zero option—the possibility that the Soviet Union may be persuaded to dismantle hundreds of Europe-targeted missiles. NATO thereby could avoid deploying Pershing and Cruise Missiles. This outcome, in the view of the U.S. strategists, is remote and probably undesirable."

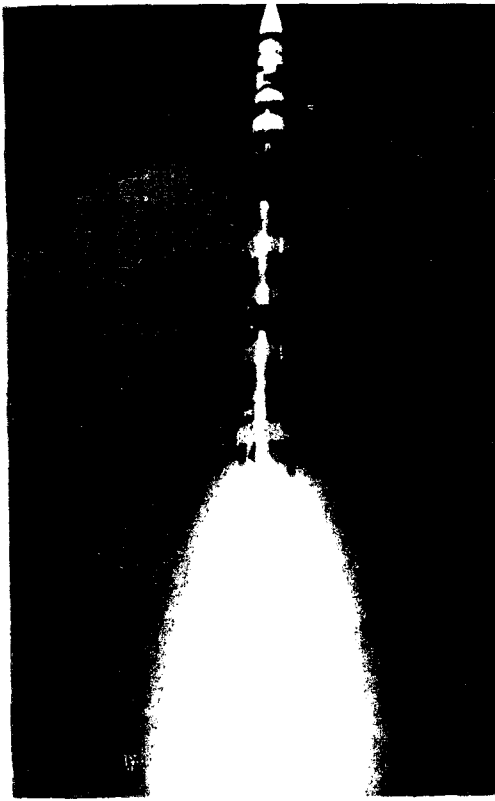
The Russians, meanwhile, are taking every opportunity to stress their readiness to negotiate. There were two Russian observers at the Juso congress, with a simple message they kept repeating to anyone who would listen: "The Pershings could hit Moscow in less than five minutes. Five minutes. No time to talk. We are ready to negotiate on everything without conditions."

German missile critics' private suspi-

cions tend to go deeper than what they say in public. Some suspect U.S. strategists of planning to frighten Soviet leaders into a pre-emptive strike that would destroy Germany (a commercial rival) but provide a pretext for the U.S. to go on to wage a theoretically "winnable" nuclear war against the USSR, keeping American casualties to the "acceptable" level of only 20 million (see Gray and Payne). Some also suspect that no anti-missile movement has developed in France because the French don't that much mind seeing the potential decoy weapons stationed in Germany rather than on their own territory.

Such cynicism on the part of the Pentagon and, even more, such a coherent strategy, may seem incredible to Americans. But on the banks of the Rhine, the logic of the argument presented by Eppler (among others) is overwhelming. It almost suffices to hear it through to be convinced.

Most Germans have not yet heard it. The conservative press has censored and distorted it. Nevertheless, the word is getting around rapidly. Eppler said that reflection is already much more ad-



The new Pershing II missile

vanced among military men than is indicated by what they say in public.

What will happen if and when the really powerful men in West German society, the major financiers and industrialists, begin to be convinced by this logic? They are not likely to convert to left-liberal pacifism, nor to accept and help propagate the Marxist explanation blaming the arms race on the crisis of capitalism. But for all their devotion to free enterprise, they could not just sit back and watch U.S. strategists program the destruction of their country.

German business leaders might tend, in such a case, to back political leaders who offer an explanation of American treachery that would not incriminate the socioeconomic system—that is, a nationalist explanation. That is how, suddenly and surprisingly, a right-wing nationalist anti-American movement could arise in Germany—on the theory that a right-wing government would be best able to carry off a switch in alliances. And this may be one of the possibilities Eppler dreads when he warns against hatred of Americans.

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Police with rioters in Brixton (below) and with anti-racist Pakistani demonstrators (Southall, 1979, right).

John Sturrock/Camerawork



On the front lines of monetarist policy in England.

Punk and postpunk music has been a way of handling the squalor, tedium and aggravation.



By Simon Frith

#### COVENTRY, ENGLAND

**T**HE FIRST YOUTH RIOT WAS IN Bristol a year ago. The second flared in Brixton this April and the first in this series began in Southall on July 3. But the event that really jolted our screens was the revolt in Toxteth, shocking not only for its ferocity but for its accent.

"My aim was to kill a policeman," a participant said. "We wanted to leave them in the middle of the road with their arms and legs broken." And he said it in "scouse," the language of John and Paul and George and Ringo.

For years Liverpool has been a media symbol of working-class community. Times in Merseyside were bad but these people would "whistle through." But Liverpool was never the way the Beatles made it seem. There were race riots there in 1919, 1948 and 1972. Its citizens have always looted, thieved, run in gangs and hated the police. "To tell the truth," a white Liverpoolian said to a friend of mine last year, "if someone around here saw a policeman on fire they wouldn't even piss on him." And the fact is that Toxteth doesn't look much different after the riots than it did before.

The shock of the Toxteth riot was not that it happened but that it revealed in such a sudden glare of violent anger the reality of British race relations under Margaret Thatcher.

What is at issue on the front lines of Thatcherism is a politics of survival. In the midst of the fighting, local shopkeepers—who in Manchester stood back to back, white and Asian, armed with iron bars—knew that it was with these people they had to make their living. Posters soon appeared on boarded windows—"Buy now while shops last!"

For at least the last five years the mass media images of British life have made no sense of the inner city at all. The only public descriptions of what it is like now to be young, black, unemployed, desperate or homeless or bored have been songs and records—the Sex Pistols' "Anarchy in the U.K.," the Clash's "White Riot,"

Misty's "How Long Jah," Aswad's "Warrior Charge," Delta Five's "Mind Your Own Business" and the Gang of Four's "Paralyzed." In the week of the riots the best selling record in Britain was the Specials' "Ghost Town," a scary account of city life.

Punk and postpunk music hasn't described the squalor, tedium and aggravation. It has been a way of handling them, a source of tolerance and hope. The daily reality of a monetarist government is meanness, and the musical task has been to orchestrate the constant individual harassment into a collective anger, good humor and obstinacy.

Thatcher has sharpened the difference between the people who can look after themselves and those who are dependent on increasingly shoddy and authoritarian public services. This means that what the bourgeoisie has to say is now completely incomprehensible to everyone else. The standard Tory explanation of the riots is to blame them on outside agitators, parents and the lack of proper religious edu-



cation in the schools. As a result class conflict increasingly involves confrontation not between capital and labor but between the individual and the state—the bureaucrats who control housing, health, education, social security and above all the state as the police force.

The British police force was created in the 19th century as a domestic mission. Police were sent into the inner cities to regulate working-class leisure, to contain working-class discontent. The police have always meant quite different things in suburbia and on the street. Under Thatcher, the police's containing role has become more significant than it has been for 70 years. Dealing with the police is now the major preoccupation of inner-city teenage life, and the anti-police fury of the rioters (Moss Side police station in Manchester was actually besieged) was

their political message.

The most violent episodes (Brixton, Moss Side, Toxteth) involved the police and West Indians. West Indian youth face systematic discrimination in their search for work, places to live and places to go. The effect is to put them up continually against the police. Black youths live on the street, subsisting by small scale hustling, pilfering and dealing. In Brixton and elsewhere, the dividing line police usually draw between criminals and decent citizens is impossible to define. Black culture has been criminalized.

Much of black youth's struggle with police is for the use of public space. They have few other gathering spots. (The Rialto, burned down in Toxteth rioting, had been well known for its exclusion of blacks.) The corner of Railton and Mayall Road in Brixton, where black youths have long hung out and police have sought to move them on, has been called "the front line" for as long as its habits can remember.

The immediate exhilaration felt by young blacks in Bristol last year and in Brixton and Liverpool this year reflected their beliefs that the police had been held off, that for a night they had got away with things. Communities, though, cannot win riots. "The world is going to get smashed up tonight," one kid said to another in Brixton last week. "I hope it's not our house," was the reply. The shock of Brixton and Toxteth riots was the glimpse they gave of the desperation that such protest involves. If the leading part in these riots has been played by youth, the adult black community has given the subsequent defense committees solid support.

In the West Indian youth riots the police were taken on both as authoritarian and racist. In other riots these strands were untangled. The trouble in Southall started with an invasion of East End skinheads come to see the Four Skins, an oi band playing in a local pub. After the skins rushed through the streets stealing and punching, Asian youths gathered in pursuit. The police were caught in the middle and the pub was burned to the ground. But anger too quickly shifted on to the police, apparently for protecting the skinheads in a way they had never

protected the Asian community.

For years now, Asians in Britain have faced harassment, windows smashed, shops rifled, men beaten and women jostled. "Paki bashing" has been a skinhead passion since 1968. In the last few months the anti-Asian terror has become more vicious as the openly violent British movement has succeeded in organizing skinheads, the way the more respectable fascists of the National Front have done since 1978. In Coventry two Asians have been murdered in the last six months—a student killed in the city center on a busy Saturday afternoon and a doctor stabbed apparently for a "15 pound bet that I couldn't get a Paki." Asian families in white housing have been firebombed. Asian workers on an evening shift are escorted home as a matter of normal security.

The irony of the Southall riot was that in any other circumstances the skinheads would have been fighting the police. The most violent anti-authoritarian music is made by oi groups like the Four Skins. Coventry's oi band, the Criminal Class, plays for left demonstrations and has rejected National Front overtures strictly on the grounds of its hatred for the cops.

Skinhead racism itself is an odd combination of bravado, style and ideology. It became a way of making sense of the white experience of Thatcherism. The National Front has a purchase on this section of white youth precisely because it seems to take seriously the assertion of respectable politicians that Britain has been swamped by "immigrants."

But in other circumstances the skinheads' "we" has a different reference—not white vs. black but youth vs. authority. In the "copycat riots" that followed Southall and Toxteth, skinheads and black youths threw bricks together and passed each other the loot. These riots were escalations of weekend battles that have been fought by youth and police for the last 30 years. Several local police chiefs agreed that what the press described as riots were routine disturbances.

The socialist explanation for youth riots is unemployment. But in practice the left has made little sense of youth politics—the young unemployed have been drawn

Continued on page 20